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THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

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DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

A great scholar and artist, a painter and photographer, a scientist and philosopher, and a venerable *ṛṣi* as handsome in his old age as in his youth, and a gentleman *par excellence* Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy is a name to conjure with in the history of world thought and culture. Unassuming in his manners, gentle and softspoken, an eloquent speaker and indefatigable worker, he was talent, energy and industry all combined in one. A non-believer in the maxim, *art for art's sake*, Coomaraswamy, through his writings and ideals, demonstrated to the world that "the worshipper for whom the object was made was nearer to the root of the matter than the aesthetician who endeavoured to isolate beauty from function." And he succeeded without doubt in expounding that "art seeks the Infinity, leading to God himself and that beauty is its incidental by-product" and "the noblest function of art is to increase man's appreciation of God." He strongly believed and advocated that work of art was to be looked upon not merely from the aesthetic point of view but also from its utilitarian aspects. He did realise the meaning of the great cultural tradition he had inherited and literally lived in its image.

II

Ananda Coomaraswamy was the son of Sir Muttu Coomaraswamy Mudaliar who, though of Indian Tamil origin, had settled in Ceylon and had married an English lady, Elizabeth Clay Beeby of Kent. A barrister by profession he was also a great scholar and a contemporary and friend of Benjamin Desraeli, the Prime-Minister of Great Britain. Ananda Coomaraswamy was born on 22 August, 1877 at Colombo but was soon taken to England at the age of two and half years by his English mother owing to the sudden death of his great father. A versatile genius Coomaraswamy rounded off his educational career with a brilliant D.Sc. in Geology. But, he soon got averse to his English environment in which he had been brought up and educated. The fun that his class-mates occasionally made of his alien extraction had tremendous impact on his juvenile brain and

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he felt a genuine urge to get back to his land of birth with all the fire of a patriot. He was only 26 when he returned to Ceylon and was made Director of the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon in 1903. Though a geologist by profession he thoroughly studied the ancient arts and crafts of Ceylon in order to get at the root of her culture.

But the patriot in him made him restless and sought to see his country free from the fetters of alien yoke. He, therefore, joined the nationalist movement of Sri Lanka and resigned from the government service and left for England again in 1905 to breathe in a free atmosphere and to utilise his talent fully. For about a decade (1905-17) he travelled extensively in Europe, India, Ceylon, Nepal, Tibet, Japan and other countries in the Orient, studying arts and cultures of those countries and preparing himself with the basic strength of the country of his origin—India. The publication of *Medieval Sinhalese Art* in 1908, based on his earlier study of the subject, marked a complete break in his otherwise successful career as a geologist, and soon turned it from that of a geologist to that of an art-critic, art-historian and philosopher, and last but not the least, a museum-man in general. Imbued with divine grace this genius of a man studied deeply the lores and arts of the past and soon came into contact with another genius of the age, Ravindra Nath Tagore and later Abanindra Nath Tagore, Nandlal Bose, Ashit Haldar and others, which made him dive deep into the very soul and heart of India. It was in recognition of his great artistic talents that he was made in-charge of the Fine Arts section of the All India Exhibition at Allahabad in 1910, when he was hardly 33. The publication of his masterpiece, *Rajput Paintings* in 2 volumes in 1916—a study of Rajasthani and Pahari paintings—made yet another mark in his career as an art-critic and historian, and brought him fresh laurels and glory.

III

It is an irony of fate that this brilliant young man inspite of his best efforts could not get a suitable job either in the newly founded Banaras Hindu University or in any other part of India. He ran from pillar to post, but in vain. Credit goes to Mr. Ross, Trustee of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the United States for having offered him the job of a Research Associate in Indian Art, in the Museum in 1917 which witnessed the full flowering of his genius. This was perhaps the most

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momentous event in his life which ultimately marked a turning point in his career as it gave him full scope for his future researches. He spent the rest of his life in this Museum as Keeper of the Indian and Mohammedan Art Section. Coomaraswamy is no more in the land of mortals, but the Boston Museum is a living testimony to his undying fame and glory.

In the course of his thirty years of stewardship of this section in the Boston Museum he published several volumes expounding and interpreting the mysterious phenomenon of Indian art to the Western mind to understand its true spirit, purpose, function and merit. On the other hand, he awakened the slumbering Indian masses, who had tragically forgotten the richness of their own cultural heritage, through his continuous writings and speeches. His book on *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, published in 1927, remains a classic to this day and is even now avidly read by every student of Indian art which nodoubt constitutes a standing tribute to his genius and insight.

What Coomaraswamy did for the popularity of Indian art in the western world, no one else could do. There was a time when Western mind thought very poorly of Indian art, the unrealistic images of its gods and goddesses with multiple arms and weapons appearing as grotesque and abominably abhorrent. On the whole, it was an object of ridicule. But, Coomaraswamy soon succeeded in establishing Indian art in its true perspective by pointing out that all art, whether Western or Oriental, has a purpose and turns invariably to God. He soon converted the Western mind by his deep learning and sympathetic understanding of the art, history, literature and philosophy of both the civilizations—a formidable task that was made easy through his profound knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, English and Sanskrit languages. The indirect recognition of his great achievements in the Western world is aptly echoed in the following statement of Mr. Norton Simon of the United States: "A people who could create such astonishingly beautiful works of art as the Naṭarāja (Śivapuranam bronze Naṭarāja) in the 10th century, almost a thousand years ago, must have already reached a very high level of culture."

IV

Coomaraswamy was a traditionalist and abhorred such works of art as were divested of traditional values of life and ideals of art. The paintings

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of Rājā Ravivarmā (of Trivandrum) portraying themes from Indian mythology in Western costumes were sharply criticised by him: on the other hand, he had a great liking for the revivalist school of Bengal led by Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose who were trained under the loving care of E. B. Havell of the Calcutta School of Art who loved Indian art and wrote on its myriad facets.

Coomaraswamy wrote a great deal, and his writings, more than 500 in number (including books and papers), have guided us in our march through life, for to him art was a way of life. He wrote on all branches of art and painting besides numismatics, museums and Hindu and Buddhist myths. An artist by himself he often sketched or painted the forms he had been dealing with for a better understanding of the subject and his masterly knowledge of photography and film-making helped him considerably in his profession.

V

A great believer in the resurgence of India Coomaraswamy thought that regeneration of India could be possible only through art, and not by politics and economics alone, and fortunately he lived long enough to see India emerge as a free nation and celebrate the event in his foreign home in the company of his friends and admirers. To his friends who had gathered to celebrate India's Independence on 15 August, 1947 at the Hindustan Association at Boston he painfully said: "We cut a sorry figure in our hybrid clothes, looking neither like ourselves nor like any one else on earth..... We invite the ridicule of foreign musicians when we play the harmonium..... Indian women at the present day, in so far as they have not been 'brought up-to-date' are our best conservators of Indian culture... Be yourself. Follow Mahatma Gandhi, Bharatan Kumarappa, D. V. Gundappa, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Gaffar Khan and Śrī Raman Maharshi." Seven days after, on 22 August 1947, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday he prophetically told his friends that "the time had come to say farewell and I wish shortly to retire and repair to the India of my dream and settle down in *Vānaprastha* along with my wife and son, Rāma, somewhere at the foot of the Himālayas, where I would be least accessible." These words really proved prophetic and this great saint and prophet left this world of the mortals on 10 September 1947 in a matter

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of moments and indeed became eternally inaccessible to us. But alas ! his last wish to return to the land of his moorings remained unfulfilled.

September 10, 1947 is a memorable day in the history of art and culture when a shining star suddenly fell from its course, and the world lost a seer and a scientist, a philosopher and an artist for ever. Great in life, and still greater in death, Coomaraswamy always shone in his true colours. In him we have lost a true son of India imbued with our Indian culture, in him we have lost a great patriot and brilliant scholar who was genuinely loved by his friends and admirers, and in him we have lost a large-hearted, perfect gentleman always loyal to his friends, the like of whom we shall perhaps never see again.

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ANANDA COOMARASWAMY AND INDIAN NUMISMATICS

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

The great interpreter and historian of Indian art, Ananda Coomaraswamy made us alive to our rich heritage at a time when we practically relegated it to an oblivion. Initially a geologist Ananda developed an abiding interest in the art of Ceylon and India in the prime of his life and in course of time became an avid art collector. It was his own collection which formed the nucleus of the Indian section of the Museum of Boston, U. S. A., with which he was connected till his death in 1947. A Ceylonese born Indian though, Coomaraswamy was a universal man combining in him the best of the East and the West. Author of several books and a few hundreds of articles he covered almost every aspect of Indian art and culture and raised Indian art-historiography on a scientific level. His prodigious scholarship which now has become legendary amazingly ranged form aesthetics to iconography and from architecture to numismatics. And in many respects he is a pioneer.

Rarely a document, howsoever apparently insignificant, escaped the discerning eye of Coomaraswamy. Tiny and modest objects like coins and seals were profitably utilized by him in his study of Indian art and religion. It was Coomaraswamy who for the first time underlined the importance of the earliest Indian Coins for the study of Indian iconography and he made a detailed discussion about the significance of some of the symbols appearing on them. He was also the first scholar to discuss the significance of the symbols on punch-marked and other indigenous coins. Before the publication of Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in British Museum, Ancient India* (1936) he observed that 'the marks which we might expect, but which are not found on punch-marked and other indigenous coins, include the *lingam*, *Vajra*, *pādukā* and Garuḍa. This suggestion is generally acceptable and hence we come across the earliest representation of phalli on these issues.[1] Apart from symbols he also used the evidence of coins and seals in his researches on iconography of Indian divinities, particularly of the Buddha and Lakshmi,

1. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927), p. 45.

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the gooddess of fortune. In his famous article on the origin of the Buddha image he took the help of the numismatic evidence as furnished, among others, by the coins of Kanishka. He correlated this type of evidence with the data gleaned form other sources and ably made out his case for the indigenous origin of the Buddha image. In other well-known but little read article on early Indian iconography Coomaraswamy referred to three varieties of Lakshmi and he described one of them as Padmavasini or Kamalalaya type in which the goddess is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves, and holds one of the flowering stems in each hand. He did not fail to take note of this type on the coins of the Scytho-Parthian kings like Maues and Azes and drew our attention to the identical motif in the art of Bharhut and Sanchi. His identification of the city-dity of Pushkalavati (modern Charsada, Pakistan) on the unique Indo-Scythian gold coin as Lakshmi also seems to be correct.

Apart from deities, Coomaraswamy also utilized the coin evidence for reconstructing the history of early Indian architecture. The structure represented on the coins of the Audumbara tribe of the 1st century B. C. and 1st cent. A. D. was correctly described by him as structural shrine and 'dome pavilions'. The religious character of this building is beyond doubt and contextually its Śaiva affiliation is indicated by the presence of the two characteristic symbols, trident and battle-axe (or for that matter one symbol if it is regarded as a composite one) as well as the names of the issuers of these coins like Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa. However the shrine, the importance of which seems to have been brought out by Coomaraswamy, reveals striking affinities with some early mediaeval temples such as the Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara, the Lad Khan, the Meguti temples and the Pallava rathas, particularly those of the square type.[1] It is interesting, however, that the North Indian Audumbara shrine shows certain characteristics which are commonly associated with the Dravida temple-style of the post-Gupta period. In connection with the Audumbara temple, Coomaraswamy also referred to the pavilion with a double-ornamented plinth and enshrining figures of Skanda, Visakha and Mahasena met with on a coin of Huvishka, which is, however, of a slightly late date. Mention may be made in this context of a coin of the Trigartas of ancient

1. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach*, p. 63.

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Panjab which shows the motif of a four-storeyed pavilion with a circular finial.

As already said, Coomaraswamy was the first scholar who realized religious significance of many a symbol on early Indian indigenous coins and to attempt to explain them cogently. Indeed, he was able to recognize in their style an explicit iconography. Regarding the character of these symbols his remark is not only apposite, but also revealing, and testifies to his insight : 'The vocabulary of these symbols was equally available to all sects, Brahmans, Buddhists and Jains, each employing, them in senses of their own.'[2] In other words, the same device was equally available to the various sectaries of those days to illustrate their own religious faith. In elucidation of his observation, I may cite an illustration. A *chakra*, which in one place, may represent, a *dharmachakra*, in another setting stand for the Sudarśana emblem of Vishṇu which is a symbol of the Sun god. Most scholars before Coomaraswamy failed to realize the variable character of an identical symbol. As for instance Cunningham described the tree-in-railing symbol as the Bodhi tree and the wheel-motif as the Buddhist *dharmachakra*.

In short, Coomaraswamy was the avant-gard art-historian-cum-numismatist who made a study of Indian coins in depth. He succeeded in transferring many of the symbols and similar art-motifs of Indian coins repertoire from the category of ornamental to that of significant. And in this way at least he gave a new orientation to the study of Indian numismatics making it significant and meaningful.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

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DETERMINING THE TYPE AND SUBSTANTIVAL ATTRIBUTION OF KADASA COINS

B. R. MANI

'Kāḍasa' coins[1] have not received a detailed analysis. These rude copper cast coins bear the legend (*Kāḍasa*) in early Brahmi characters of late 3rd or early 2nd century B. C. They are assignable to the same period and belong to the Kaṭha (Greek > Kathaioi) tribe of Punjab, which prominently figures in the accounts of Alexanders invasion. The Macedonians found it hard to suppress the Kaṭhas. At that time they occupied the territory lying between the Rāvī (Hydraotes) and the Beas (Hyphasis) rivers. From the sequel of events their subjugation by Chandragupta Maurya is evident; but possibly they regained their independence sometime after Aśoka in *Circa* 232 B. C.

The Kaṭhas seem to have been succeeded by the Kuṇindas, the Audumbaras and the Vemakas. This finds support from the occurrence of a Kāḍasa coin in association with the Kuṇinda coins.[2] Palaeographically, the Kāḍasa coins are earlier than those of Kuṇinda, Aubumbara and Vemaka tribes. The earliest issues of these other tribes are placed in the late 2nd or early Ist century B. C. From this we can suggest that the Kaṭhas, squeezed between the Indo-Greeks and the Indian tribes, were supplanted by the other tribes whose coins remained in circulation and are found in comparatively larger numbers and types, denoting a longer and successive rule of these tribes. These tribal states held sway over the region between the Rāvī and the Beas and the adjoining territories.

The Kaṭhas (Kathaioi or Cathaeans), who resisted Alexander but were overcome by the Macedonian with the help of Porus, were an almost invulnerable people. They had an impregnable fort at Sāṅgala, which has been variously identified with Gurudaspur, near Fathgarh[3] and Jandiāla

1. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891, p. 62, pls. II. 12-22, V.6; Allan *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. XCII.
2. Cunningham has not recorded the find spots of Kāḍasa coins, but he found one Kāḍasa coin with the coins of Kuṇindas which suggests that Kadasa coins belong to Punjab (*CCBM*, p. XCII).
3. *JRAS*, 1903, p. 687.

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to the east of Amritsar.[1] Jolly suggests that Greek *Kathaia* stands for the country of Kaṭhas and the *Kathaioi* for the Kaṭha people.[2] This country produced men of courage, skill and physical charm. On the authority of Onesikritos, we are told that among the Kathaiois the most handsome person was elected as King.[4]

The sequence of nomenclature in deriving 'Kāḍa' from Kaṭha, the provenance of the Kāḍasa coins assuredly from Punjab in the precincts of the Kaṭhas and the issue of Kāḍasa coins, traced back to the late 3rd century B. C., palaeographically, strengthen the view that the Kāḍasa issues belong to the Kaṭha tribal state, belonging to a period of decline of the Mauryas after Aśoka.

The form of Kāḍasa calls for Kāḍa in the ablative sense; the Prākṛit derivative Kāḍa from Kaṭha being apparent. In Prākṛit and subsequent formations in Apabhraṁśa, the linguals unaspirates (ṭa and ḍa) and aspirates (ṭha and ḍha) are interconvertible. In the Rummindei Pillar Edict of Aśoka, the word Vigada (1.3) comes from Skt. *Vikaṭa*. In the Kauśāmbī's Queen's Edict *ambā-vaḍi-gā* stands for Skt. *āmravāṭikā* and so is *ḍa* in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Nahapāna obtainable from *ṭa* (*Kuḍumbiniya*). In Apabhraṁśa, words *Kaḍāha* and *baḍa* stand for Kaṭāha and Vāṭa. Similar interchangables are Kāḍasa > Kāṭhasa (Kāṭhasya).

The word Kāṭha is derived by affixing *aṇ* to Kaṭha. In the patronymic sense, Kāṭha means the offspring of Kaṭha, which becomes significant in the case of reassertion of power by the Kaṭhas after Aśoka. The singular ablative of the *Kāḍasa* legend is important, as reminiscing the forebears Kāṭhas whose descendant the king claims himself to be. The rude figure found on these coins may be that of the king of Kaṭhas.

1. Anspach in *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 371.
2. *Sacred Books of the East*, VII, p. XV (Intro).
3. Arrian, *Anabasis*, V, 22. 11 A., p. 115.
4. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 38.
5. The antiquity of the Kāḍasa coins is to be fixed with reference to the early form of Brahmi script as in the inscriptions of Aśoka, which is regarded as the earliest by some scholars. Another view regards the script to be pre-Mauryan on the basis of legends on the coin of Dharmapāla and the Sohgaurā copper plate and the Piprahwā Vase inscriptions. This view would place the Kaṭha coins in a period when the Kaṭhas defied Alexander. In any case the coins cannot de dated later than the 2nd century B. C.

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The affix *aṇ* may also gloss on a collective meaning[1] deducible in the illustrations as *Kākānām Samūhaḥ Kākam* or *Bakānām Samūhaḥ Bākam*, meaning herds of ravens and herons. In the same way *Kāṭham* stands for Kathas as a class (*Kaṭhānām*).

A territorial determinant is premised from two more aphorisms in Pāṇini's Grammar. Commenting on the first *tadasminnastīti deśe tannāmni*,[2] Patañjali specifies *Udumbarāḥ Santyasmin deśe Audumbaro deśaḥ*. It equally applies to the Kātha country where there are Kaṭhas. The Second aphorism of Pāṇini, *Tasya nivāsaḥ* is commented by Paṭañjali as *Śivīnām nivāso deśaḥ śaivaḥ* substanting the inhabitation of Kaṭhas in the Kāṭha country (*Kaṭhānām nivāso deśaḥ Kāṭhaḥ*). Whichever aphorism is preferred, the ablative case of the word shall be Kāṭhasya (Kāḍasa).

Thus the Kāḍasa coins are no other than those belonging to the Kaṭhas. Any mention of the Kaṭhas as rulers is not known afterwards. They disappeared as a power most probably in the last decades of the 2nd century B. C., when the Kuṇindas and some other tribal states emerged on the scene with dwindling fortunes. A demarcation of the boundaries of the tribal states can only be hypothetical, but it seems that they would, in any case, have shared the territories of the Kāḍa people.

The morphology of Kāḍa and the numismatic sequence of their coins render earlier suppositions of scholars extremely fortutous. Cunningham[4] unwittingly traces their origin to serpents, as descended from Kadru; he took the undulating line on the coins as a snake. Reference to Kadru or Kadru's family lacks historicity, however, imaginative or mythic in character it may be.

The suggestion of S. K. Chakrabortty[5] to identify Kāḍasa with Cadrusi or Cadrusia, an Alexandrian town near Alexandria under the Caucasus which stood on the north bank of the Panjshir river,[6] is based

1. *Tasya Samūhaḥ*, Pāṇini, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 2.37.
2. *Ibid*, IV. 2.67.
3. *Ibid.*, IV. 2.69.
4. *CAI*, p. 62; Also Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, II, p. 10.
5. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Mymensingh, 1931, p. 180.
6. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, (Ed. R. C. Majumdar) Calcutta, 1960, p. 36.

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only on sound-identity, in disregard of all numismatic sequences. The suggestion is weakened by the fact that the provenance of the Kāḍasa coins is associated with Punjab which is far removed from the Caucasus regions. On account of the suggestions of Cunningham and some other scholars, Allan and K. K. Dasgupta who refer Kāḍa as a tribe, are skeptical about the possibility of identifying and locating this tribe.

We may give here a short description of the Kāḍasa coins with the symbols and the legend in early Brāhmī script. The symbols, variantly include an undulating line (identified as a snake or a river), large rayed circle (possibly sun), a rude standing figure holding a staff (identified as Śiva or Kārttikeya, but with greater possibility signifying the most handsome man of the Kaṭha tribe), elephant, horse, upturned taurine symbol, an object probably Kalaśa with flowers and a Svastika symbol. The occurrence of these symbols makes six varieties of these coins.[1] Some of the symbols associated with Punch-marked coins such as elephant, sun and taurine, and appearing on coins under study indicate the antiquity of these coins. The fabric and symbols, and an early Brāhmī character found on these coins, suggest that these are assignable to the Kaṭhas and that they cannot be later than the 2nd century B. C.

1. Allan, *CCBM*, Ancient India, London, 1936, pp. 145-46; K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1974, pp. 236-37.

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THREE PORTRAIT COINS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA RULERS

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

Nasik is a well-known religious place in Maharashtra on the bank of the river Godāvari, from ancient times It was an important trade centre and a cultural nucleus in the historical times during the Sātavāhana-Kshatrapa period. Its cave architecture, inscriptions therein and excavated material attracted the attention of scholars of ancient Indian history and still it has been yielding material of great historical interest. The three portrait coins, viz., of Vāsishthīputra Pulumāvī, Skanda Sātakarṇī and Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇī are in the coin-cabinet of Shri P. C. Chumble from Nasik and with his kind permission, I take this opportunity to publish my views about these three coins.

The silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhana rulers are extremely rare. Of these two could be assigned to Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī,[1] three to Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇī[2] and eight to Yajña Sātakarṇī.[3] The portrait coin which is published by Gupta[4] is not in a good condition and therefore it cannot be satisfactorily attributed to any king. It is interesting to observe that except the one portrait coin of Yajñaśrī from Paithan[5] no portrait coin of any Sātavāhana ruler, either has been reported so far from any site or has been unearthed from any of the archaeological excavations conducted so far, in Maharashtra.

Nasik, from the earliest times is a trade and pilgrimage centre. Even today pilgrims from all corners of India flock to pay their homage to the God *Tryambakeśvara* and the Godāvarī. They throw some coins in the river as a mark of their devotion. The river divers are engaged in searching those coins. In such investigations sometimes they get some old coins. Mr. P. C. Chumble acquired the above mentioned three portrait coins from such an unknown river-diver

1. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1-3. Ibid., XXXVIII, pp. 12-16.
2. *JNSI*, XI, p. 59; *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9-12; *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 32-35.
3. *ASR*, 1913-14, p. 213; *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 45; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 126-132; *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9,12; Ed. Shastri, A.M., *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, p. 27.
4. *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 107-109.
5. *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 98-99.

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The glorious historicity of Nasik inspired me to search for ancient coins and surprisingly my efforts yielded fruits.

In my investigation I discovered three portrait coins. They may be assigned to Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Skandaśrī and Gautamiputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. The coin of Pulumāvī may be described as follows :

Silver : round; Diam. 0.6½; wt. 29.5 grains.

Obverse : Profile, bust of king-facing right, wearing a wig of curly friggled hair with a diadem as an ornamental head-dress, crest jewel as royal insignia, in the centre of his forehead, ear-rings with long pendants almost touching his shoulders, prominent eyes; long aquiline nose, legend beginning at XII as *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Pulumāvisa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol, six-arched chaitya; both surmounted by a crescent placed. side by side, between these two a small rayed sun symbol, a wavy line below chaitya circular legend in mixed southern Brāhmī characters in Dravidian dialect giving the king's name together with his title and metronymics beginning at XII O'clock, just above the crescent on the Ujjain symbol, legend not fully accommodated runs as *Arahaṇasha Vahiṭṭhi Makanasha.*

(1) On the basis of two published portrait coins of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvī reported to date, it is assumed with some certainty that Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī was the first Sātavāhana ruler who initiated bilingual and byscriptual[1] coins.

(2) The old face on the two published coins of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī made Shastri[2] to conclude that Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī initiated portrait coins late in his reign. But the present new coin displays the youthful figure of Pulumāvī and therefore the generalization made earlier on the basis of the two coins no longer appears to be valid.

(3) While discussing the extreme scarcity of the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhana rulers Rao[3] has rightly observed that the silver

1. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.* p. 18.
3. *Ibid.* p. 16.

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portrait coins were struck in limited numbers and might be of commemorative nature, issued after some important event of their respective regimes. The present coin which depicts the youthful figure of Pulumāvī, in all probability might have been issued at the time of coronation of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvī.

It is well-known that the Sātavāhana rulers for their silver coins adopted the weight standard, fabric, device and bilingualism of the Western Kshatrapa coins. But they do not show any slavish imitation. It is obvious that Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī might have modelled his coins after the coins of Nahapāna, which have Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends. The Jogaltembhi hoard indicates that these coins which were restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī were already in circulation in Pulumāvī's regime.

(4) It was generally believed that the portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas have been found so far only in the northern and central parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom. Out of two portrait coins of Pulumāvī one is from central India and the other is from southern India. They exhibit the Dravidian legend on them. This evidence made scholars to speculate that these coins were meant for Pulumāvī's newly subdued subjects in the south. The discovery of the three portrait coins of three different Sātavāhana rulers at Nasik has offered a new unique evidence to reconsider the earlier speculations. As suggested by Sircar[1] the Śaka type silver coins of the Sātavāhana rulers were meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region which was conquered by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī from the Kshaharāta Śakas. Later on, Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvī, Vāsishṭhiputra Śātakarṇī, Skandaśri and Gautamiputra Yajñaśri Sātakarṇī issued silver coins for the people of Western India, where the Kshatrapa coins were very popular. It must also be remembered that Naisk was the most vulnerable point during the Kshaharata-Sātavāhana period, which greatly suffered due to Kshaharāta penetration. The Sātavāhanas successfully occupied it and it was not reconquered by the Kārdamaka Śakas. The Sātavāhana rulers issued the portrait coins for the people of this region to establish the firm footing of their rule. They used the Sanskritic-Prakrit legend on the obverse which was the language of the people of that region and to differentiate their portrait coins from those of the Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhana rulers exhibited

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 237.

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their Dravidian character by using an admixture of Dravidian language and alphabet The Ujjain symbol was the mark of the Śaka defeat. The Sātavāhana rulers skillfully used this symbol of their victory on their portrait coins by the side of the Chaitya.

The Silver Portrait Coin of Skandaśrī :

The silver portrait coin of Skandaśrī is unique. The Purāṇas[1] mention this king as the son and the successor of Śiva Skanda-Sātakarṇī. Sharma[2] took him as the son of Vasishṭhīputra Sātakarṇī. He is known from his twenty-three potin coins from Tarhalā[3] and four copper coins from Brahmapurī.[4] These coins have elephant with trunk upraised and the legend—*khada-sātaka* on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The Chanda[5] hoard includes one coin of this king and a singular coin has been displayed in the Catalogue of Vincent Smith.[6] Mirashi[7] has pointed out that a manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* assigns the reign-period of three years to Skandaśrī. Sharma assigned seven years to Śivaśrī Pulumāvī (145-150 A. D.) and held that his son Skandaśrī ruled from 152-159 A. D. His coins are few indeed and are found in coastal Andhra, Aśmaka and Vidarbha region During this period the Sātavāhana power was virtually reduced to the minimum. The present silver portrait coin of Skandaśrī shows that he not only occupied the Vidarbha, Aśmaka region but also Nasik-Poona region and did not allow the Śaka penetration in that region. Sharma further assumes that it was Śivaśrī Pulumāvī who came in conflict with Rudradāman for the second time and about whom Rudradāman speaks that he did not destroy him because of nearness of relationship. If at all Śivaśrī Pulumāvī came in conflict with Rudradāman, it was Skandaśrī who might had restored the lost fortunes of the Sātavāhanas and to commemorate his victory he might

1. Pargiter F. E., *Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali-age*, p. 42.
   शिवश्रीर्वै पुलोमा तु सप्तैव भविता नृपः ।
   शिवस्कंदशा शातकर्णी भवितास्यात्मजः समाः ।। मत्स्यपुराण ।
2. Ed. Shastri, A. M., *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, p. 97.
3. *JNSI*, II, p. 89.
4. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 5, p. 62.
5. *JASB*, 1934, *Num. Suppl.*, 318.
6. Smith V., *Catalogue of Coins of Indian Museum*, Calcutta, p. 23.
7. Mirashi, V. V., *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, p. 40.

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have issued his silver portrait coins. From his portrait coin, he appears to be too young to shoulder the responsibility of the Sātavāhana empire. Like his predecessors Vasishṭhīputra Pulumāvī and Vasishṭhīputra Sātakarṇī he has used the same proto-type of the Dravidian characters on the reverse. Unfortunately the metronymic has been lost and, therefore, at present we do not know the gotra-name of Skanda's mother.

The coin of Skandśrī may be described as follows :

Silver; round; Diam. 0.6½; Wt. 28.5 grains.

Obverse : Profile bust of king-facing right, wearing a wig of curly frizzled hair with a prominent diadem as an ornamental head dress, crest jewel as royal insignia in the centre of his forehead, ear-rings with long pendant, almost touching his shoulders, boyish features (Rājakumara). Legend beginning at XII *Rāno.....Siri Khanasatakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol and six-arched chaitya, both surmounted by a crescent placed side by side, between these two a small rayed sun symbol, a wavy line below chaitya; circular legend in mixed southern Brāhmī characters in the Dravidian dialect beginning at XII O'clock just above the crescent on the Ujjain symbol.....*Mākaṇasa.....*

Silver Portrait Coin of Gautamiputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇī :

The silver portrait coin of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇī from Nasik is a welcome addition to the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhana rulers from the Western parts of India. Nasik is well connected to Gujarat by trade route not only in ancient times but even to-day the same linkage continues through *Gonda Ghat.*

Besides these three coins from Nasik a silver portrait coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvī and a coin of Yajñaśrī have been recently reported from Paithan, the capital of Sātavāhanas. It, therefore, seems that a systematic investigation of the Sātavāhana sites with a view to get more portrait coins would definitely bear golden fruits.

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DEVA HOARD OF KSHATRAPA COINS

R. N. MEHTA & K. N. MOMIN

(**PLs. IV—V**)

From the excavation for digging foundations for a local primary school at Deva, Taluka Petlad, District Kaira, Gujarat State, a hoard of Kshatrapa coins was obtained. Late Shri A. V. Pandya obtained nine coins. They are classified by him as followed :

Rudradāman I	2
Rudrasena I	1
Viśvasena	5
	7 [?]
Worn out and unidentifiable	2
Total	9

Further inquiry indicated that the hoard was lying with the Kaira District education authorities. They were requested to give the hoard to the authors for study.

As a result of the study the existance of the coins of the following rulers is indicated :—

Name of King	*Coins*
Rudradāman I	7
Rudrasimha I	3
Jivadāman	1
Rudrasena I	7
Pṛithvīshena	1
Dāmasena	6
Vīradaman	2
Vijayasena	8
Iśvaradatta	3
Highly worn and unidentifiable	7
Total	45

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This distribution in the hoard indicates that it is a fairly representative collection of the coins of the Kshatrapas of Ghasmotika family, as well as of Iśvaradatta

This hoard, therefore, indicates that it might have been buried after the rule of Viśvasena. This statement will indicate a period after 304 A. D. for the burial. The absence of the coins of Rudrasimha and other rulers indicates that the burial took place possibly during the first quarter of the 4th century A. D.

Usually hoards are buried in the times of trouble, or due to some other reason. The hoard does not contain the coins of other late rulers of Kshatrapa and later dynasties, and hence one could reasonably conclude that the hoard was buried in the 4th century A. D.

A perusal of the Kshatrapa rulers in these years indicate that the period was generally far from peaceful. The use of the title of Kshatrapa by several rulers indicates their active role in administration as well as their subordinate position. These changes of the titles of the rulers from Mahākshatrapa to Kshatrapa are of interest in the present case. Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa titles are tabulated below from the data collected so far.

Kshatrapa titles			Mahākshatrapa ruler
1. Bhūmaka			
2. Nahapāṇa	41—45	=	119—123 A. D.
3. Chashṭana	11	=	80
4. Jayadāman			
5. Rudradāman	52	=	130 A. D.
6. Dāmajadaśri			
7. Satyadāman			
8. Pṛithivishena	144	=	222 A. D.
9. Dāmajadaśri II	154—155	=	232—233 A. D.
10. Vīradāman	156—160	=	234—238 A. D.
11. Viśvasimha	199—200		278—279 A. D.
12. Bhartṛidāman	200—204		278—282 A. D.
13. Viśvasena	205—206 & 214—266		283—284 A. D. 292—304 A. D.
14. Rudrasimha II	226—237		304—315
15. Yaśodaman II	237—254		315—332

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The hoard raises two interesting questions as follows :

(1) What is the relationship of chronology of the rule of Pṛithvishena, Samghadāman and Dāmasena ?

(2) The date of Iśvardatta.

The chronological succession is usually based on the consideration of the fact that the coins are issued by only one ruler.

A persual of the dates of the coins of Pṛithvīsheṇa, Samghadāman and Dāmasena gives the following picture.

Pṛithvīsheṇa	144 and 146 = 222 and 224 A. D.
Samghadāman	144, 145, 149 = 222, 223, 227 A. D.
Dāmasena	145, 146, 147 to 158 = 223 to 236 A. D.

These dates clearly indicate the overlaps in the years 144, 145, 146, 147, 148 and 149 i. e. for a period of five years the kings are issuing coins under the titles, Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa. But the overlap of the coins with the titles of Mahākshtrapa is significant. It indicates a relationship that is different in the sense that the title is claimed by three rulers in the same period, and hence the facile explanation of the succession does not seem reasonable.

Interestingly the relationship of Pṛithvīsheṇa with Samghadāman and Dāmasena is that of the nephew and the uncle. The pattern of Kshatrapa & Mahākshtrapa relationship is clearly observable in the coins of each of them. It indicates a claim by each of them that requires a reappraisal of the history of this period. Rapson in his *Catologue of Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas* etc. informs that "There is no information to be obtained as to the history of this Kshatrapa beyond the bare fact that he (Pṛithvīshena) reigned in the year 144, the year in which his father Rudrasena I ceased and his uncle Sanghadaman began, to reign as Mahākshatrapa."

Samghadāman struck his coins in the year 144 and 145, and as his predecessor, Rudrasena I was reigning in year 144 and his successor Dāmasena in 145 his own reign must have been limited to the portion of these two years".

Then Dāmasena was ruling from 145 to 158.

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Now with more evidence coming up, P. L. Gupta has noted the existence of a coin of Samghadāman of the year 149. The coin ascribed in Deva hoard to Pṛithvīsheṇa as Mahākshatrapa (**Pl. V. 1**) belongs to the year 146. Thus the situation has changed, so the theory of Altekar that Sanghadāman died in a war with Mālwas as well as the theory of P. L. Gupta requires revision. It may, however, be stated that he has rightly projected a struggle for throne. He thought that Rudrasena I and Priṭhvīsheṇa died at the hands of Samghadāman.

Though his essential projection of the struggle for throne seems to be sound enough, the details might differ.

Apparently upon the death of Rudrasena I, his son Pṛithvīsheṇa who worked as a Kshatrapa might have excercised his right as the son of the deceased ruler to the throne and he seems to have maintained it as could be inferred from the Deva hoard.

However, there were his uncles Samgadāman and Dāmasena to contest it, and they also tried to exercise it from the time of the death of Rudrasena I. Numismatic evidence indicates the beginning of this struggle from the year 144 = between Pṛithvīsheṇa and Sanghadāman and from the year 145 = Dāmasena also entered into the fray. In this tripartite struggle Pṛithvīsheṇa seems to have been eliminated first, and Samghadāman was eliminated by 149. After the elimination of the nephew and the elder brother by 149/150 Dāmasena seems to have stabilised his power slowly.

If one takes into consideration the family feud, it appears that Dāmajadśri II seems to have deserted his brother and took the side of his youngest uncle Dāmasena I. As a reward possibly, he was given the Kshatrapaship by his uncle atleast for two years 154-155. What happened to him after that is a moot point.

Thus Dāmsena seems to have spent a large part of his reign in the family feud for power and possibly he could stabilise effectively his rule by the year 153 and might have ruled rather peacefully after this date.

It may be pointed out that the power struggle in the families of rulers in any part of the world has its ruthless aspects of patricidal-fratricidal activities in which the kith and kin get destroyed. History in general is full of many examples of this activity. The other problem refers to the

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date of Iśvaradatta. His coins of first year and second year are available. As these dates are in isolation, the field for linking it with known dates is open and controversial.

The position of the controversy is as follows :

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji analysed the legend and in 1890 proposed the identification of Iśvaradatta as Ābhira on flimsy ground and linked up the year I and II of his coins with the years between 171 and 176 (249 and 254).

Rapson in 1908 A. D. accepted the identification of Iśvaradatta as Ābhira but disagreed with proposed dates. He thought that the interval between 158 and 161 would meet the requirement of typology and palaeography, so he suggested that he should be put about 13 years earlier.

D. R. Bhandarkar indicated in 1911 in his study of the Sarvania coins that "It is still not impossible to adjust the two years of Isvaradattas' reign even in this lessened gap viz. between 158-160 now existing will also be filled up." Thus on one side he agreed with Rapson, but he also suggested that the year 188-190 also could be the suitable period.

These scholars seem to prefer 2nd and 3rd century A. D. for the rule of Iśvaradatta and believed that he was an Ābhira. But the controversy was revived by P. L. Gupta and R. Jamindar. Both of them began arguing on the basis of the discovery of the hoards and ascertained that the time of Iśvaradatta should be late.

The argument revolves round the negative nature of the discovery of a hoard of 520 coins from Junagadh. In this hoard the coins of Iśvaradatta were absent, but the coins of the rulers from Rudrasena I to Bhartṛidāman are present. This absence is taken to mean that Iśvaradatta is a late ruler.

R. Jamindar further argues from this fact that the years between 255 and 269 is more suitable after the rule of Bhartṛidāman. Deva hoard, however, strikes a discordant note to this theory. Here Iśvaradattas' coins are found along with the coins of rulers beginning from Rudradāman I and Vijayasena. The coins of Bhartṛidāman are absent. If the last ruler

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of this hoard be Vijayasena 161-172 of the Kshatrapa line and within this hoard three coins of Iśvaradatta be available, it shows that the theories of Gupta and Jamindar are untenable.

The situation therefore indicates that Iśvaradatta should not be pushed into the 4th century as aruged by Jamindar, but the position as explained by Bhandarkar seems to be nearer the truth. The absence of the Mahākshatrapaś between 158 and 160 makes the position of Bhagwanlal Indraji and Rapson also reasonably strong. However, the correct situation is fluid. The present hoard indicates that the date 3rd century A. D. for Iśvaradattas' rule cannot be ruled out, but await further efforts to get reliable links to connect the years of his rule as well as his identification as Ābhira.

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Sr. No.	Name of the Ruler	*Obverse*	Legend on *Reverse*	Metal	Diameter	Weight in Grams
*1.	Rudradāman I	Head of King facing right	*rajno Kshatrapasa Jayadaman putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudra*	Silver	15 mm.	2.56
2.	Rudradāman I	As No. 1	*rajno Kshatrapasa Jaya..... Rudradaman*	,,	16 mm.	2.241
3.	Rudradāman I	As No. 1	*rajno Kshatrapasa Jayadamas putrasa....rajno*	,,	16 mm.	2.70
4.	Rudradāman I	As No. 1	*.....pasa Jayadaman putrasa rajno.....*	,,	16 mm.	1.804
5.	Rudradāman I	Head of king right and elements of numerals	*rajno....putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudradamn*	,,	15 mm.	1.163
6.	Rudradāman I	Head of king facing right	*rajno Kshatrapasa....rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudradaman*	Silver	15 mm.	1.569
7.	Rudradāman I	Head of king facing right and traces of writing	*....putrasa rajno....kshatrapasa Rudrada....*	Silver	17 mm.	1.757
8.	Rudrasimha I	Head of king and traces of writing	*rajno mahakshatrapasa....rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudrasimha*	Silver	15 mm.	2.031
9.	Rudrasimha I	As No. 8	*rajno.....Kshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa*	Silver	15 mm.	1.740
*10.	Rudrasimha I	As No. 8	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudradamanputrasa rajno maha.... ....Rudrasimha*	Silver	16 mm.	2.229
*11.	Jīvadāman	Head of king facing right	*.....majada'sri putrasa rajno maha Kshatrapasa Jivadama*	,,	15 mm.	2.135
*12.	Rudrasena I	Head of king facing right and traces of writing and dated 127	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudrasimhasaputrasa rajno mahakshatrapa Rudrasenasa*	,,	15 mm.	1.72
13.	Rudrasena I	As No. 12 and dated 124	As No. 12	,,	16 mm.	2.077
14.	Rudrasena I	As No. 12 and dated 128	As No. 12	,,	16 mm.	1.895

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Sr. No.	Name of the Ruler	*Obverse*	Legend on *Reverse*	Metal	Diameter	Weight in Grams
15.	Rudrasena I	Head of king facing right dated 12 and legend	*rajno maha kshatrapasa Rudra .....Rudrasenasa*	,,	16 mm.	2.068
16.	Rudrasena I	Head of king facing right dated 12 and legend	*rajno maha Kshatrapasa Rudra .....Rudrasenasa*	,,	15 mm.	1.999
17.	Rudrasena I	Head of king facing right and legend	As No. 12	,,	15 mm.	2.076
18.	Rudrasena I	As No. 17	As No. 12	,,	15 mm.	1.873
*19.	Pṛithvīshena	Head of king facing right and traces of numerals	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudrasenasa putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Prithvisena*	Silver	16 mm.	2.018
20.	Dāmasena	Head of king facing right and dated 152	*rajno....Rudrasimhasa putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Dama*	,,	15 mm.	1.564
21.	Dāmasena	Head of king facing right	*rajno....putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Damasena*	Silver	15 mm.	2.018
*22.	Dāmasena	Head of king facing right	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa rajno maha....*	,,	15 mm.	2.072
23.	Dāmasena	As No. 22 and dated 15	*.....Rajno mahakshatrapasa Damasena*	,,	14 mm.	1.478
24.	Dāmasena	Head of king facing right and legend	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa*	,,	16 mm.	1.071
25.	Dāmasena	Head of king facing right dated 15	*.....Kshatrapasa....Kshatrapasa Dama*	,,	15 mm.	2.024
26.	Vīradāman	Head of king facing right dated 1	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Damasenasa putrasa rajno Kshatrapasa Virdaman*	,,	15 mm.	1.915
*27.	Vīradāman	As No. 26 and dated 16	As No. 26	,,	14 mm.	1.313

* These Coins are illustrated in **PLs. IV-V.**

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Sr. No.	Name of the Ruler	*Obverse*	Legend on *Reverse*	Metal	Diameter	Weight in Grams
*28.	Vijayasena	Head of king facing right and dated 164	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Damasenasa putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Vijayasena*	Silver	16 mm.	1.886
29.	Vijayasena	Head of king facing right and legend	As No. 28	,,	15 mm.	1.456
30.	,,	As No. 29	As No. 28	,,	16 mm.	2.062
31.	,,	As No. 29 and dated 167	As No. 28	,,	15 mm.	1.848
32.	,,	As No. 29 and traces of date 16	As No. 28	,,	15 mm.	2.079
33.	,,	Head of king facing right	*rajno mahakshatrapasa..... putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Vijayasenasa*	,,	15 mm.	1.872
34.	,,	As No. 33	*rajno mahakshatrapasa..... putrasa....Vijayasenasa*	,,	15 mm.	2.096
35.	,,	As No. 33 and legend	*....putrasa rajno mahakshatrapasa Vija.....*	,,	15 mm.	1.82
36.	Iśvaradatta	Head of king facing right	*rajno mahakshatrapasa I'svardattasa Varshe pratham*	Silver	15 mm.	1.691
37.	Iśvaradatta[1]	As No. 36	As No. 36	,,	15 mm.	2.062
38.	Iśvaradatta	As No. 36	*rajno mahakshatrapasa Isvara....*	,,	16 mm.	1.637

* These Coins are illustrated in **PLs IV-V**.

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THE MARKINGS ON THE COINS OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL

G. S. FARID

(PL. II)

The coins of the Sultans of Bengal where they offer a galaxy of ornamental designs and a variety of legends are nevertheless conspicuous for their peculiar markings, causing difficulty in deciphering the legends, distortion of the design and damage to the coins themselves. It is also interesting to note that sometimes markings are found on the edge of the coins in the form of cross-marks, dot in circle, checks, eye, branch of leaves, floral design etc.

These may be the characteristic marks of different individuals, private or official, or of different localities where it was minted or issued. The markings were by two agencies, one the State and the other private. The study of these markings is undoubtedly interesting.

A. State agencies :

i. Mint-mark

ii. Treasury-mark

B. Private agencies :

i. Shroff's mark

ii. Ownership and Trader's mark

C. Symbol and its significance.

State Agencies

Mint-mark—Sometimes a symbol was impressed on coins to signify the locality of the mint where the coin was struck. However, our knowledge of such allotment in the case of the Bengal Sultans is almost nil. This could perhaps be established by coins of the same mint possessing the same type of marking. But it has not been found so far. Generally, the mint symbol used to be a part of the original die as in the case of Delhi, Moghul and Afghan rulers, and not just haphazardly impressed afterwards, thus disfiguring the face of the coins. Hence, in the case of the Bengal Sultans it cannot be said that a symbol mark was alloted to the mints.

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• These Coins are illustrated in PLs IV-V.

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Treasury mark—Perhaps when coins were struck and issued from the treasury, some sort of marking was impressed on such coins as was the practice in India during the ancient times But it has been found that all the coins of a particular Sultan do not bear the same type of marking issued from treasury (*Khazana*).

Hence, the conclusion is, that atleast treasury had not alloted any symbol mark. Possibly, it was applied by some sub-treasuries before distribution. Or may be, when coins entered into central treasury by way of taxes, tributes etc., were treated for its genuineness and purity of metal by a number of officials deputed for such purposes, who probably used to mark the coins after testing.[1]

Private Agencies

Shroff's marks—According to dictionary, Hindustani and English by Forbes, the term shroff means a banker; a moneychanger; an officer employed to ascertain the value of different currencies. It was the duty of the shroff to examine, sort and weigh money and settle batta according to fineness of metal. They were also the experts who detected not only the purity of the metal but also the counterfiet coins.

All the debased coins, the old dated coins, the coins effected due to the fluctuating gold value in a transaction and the coins tested for purity and genuineness were marked by the Surrafs. These markings are called Shroff's marks.

The process of testing coins was carried out either by boring out metal or by chopping out a portion with chisel. As a result of which we find small hole mark and longitudinal strike marks. There are different types of chop marks,—single strike, double strike or more strikes in the form of a circle. After testing the coins by chopping or boring, sometimes a countermark in the shape of some symbol or design was impressed by the Shroff as a hallmark of purity.

1. P. L. Gupta, (*JNSI*, 1960, xxii, p. 34) mentions that the term *Lakshaṇādhyaksha*, stands for the Superintendant of mint. His duty was to manufacture coins. Another term is *Rūpadarśaka*, the Examiner of coins. He was probably attached to every State Department for testing coins. Yet another term is *Sannidhātā*, i. e. the Treasurer. His duty was to recieve all such coins or money which was declared genuine by *Rūpadarśaka*.

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Debased coins—Many of the earlier coins were of full weight but because of the debased coins of the later Sultans the coins of full weight were reduced to the lesser weight by boring and cutting with chisel. Thomas[1] writes, "the standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of the imperial mint qualities and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Delhi prototypes, but one of the curious results of the Koch Bihar's collection determines is, that though the first kings on the list clearly putforth money of full measure their prices were, in most cases, subjected to the well understood Indian process of boring-out or reduction to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kaikaus and Firoz have escaped the debaser's eye and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains."

Thus, the debased coins were probably marked for identification that they are of a lesser weight.

Old dated coins—All coins of the old dates were not treated as the coin of the same value as that of the coins of the current year. The devaluation was due to manipulation of the Shroffs who wanted to make some profit in the form of baṭṭa[2] on such old dated coins.[3]

The abuse of baṭṭa system was in vogue in Bengal only, and that is the reason we do not find any coin from the Imperial Delhi mint

1. The Initial Coinage of the Bengal, *JASB*, 1867, p. 11
2. The term *baṭṭā* means difference in exchange, discount on coins not current or of short weight, Yule & Burnell, *Hobson Jobson*, p. 834.
3. Splinter Stavorninus, Rear Admiral, in the service of the States General writes in his *Voyages to the East Indies*, 1768, "The only current coins in Bengal, and the whole extent of Indostan, are gold and silver rupees. They decrease every year in value and at the end of nine years the *sicca* rupees are taken at the same rate as the Arcot rupees. When the rupees first came from the mint they are called *Sicca* rupees of the first year. Those which are coined at Moorshedabad are the current coins in which the trade of the Company is carried on and by which all the other rupees in circulation here are reduced. It is the money of account according to which the value of the other rupees is calculated at a discount or agio, which is called *baṭṭa*, of from six to twelve per cent, which undergoes continual fluctuations by the management of the money-changers". Thurston, *History of Coinage*, p. 36.

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bearing the Shroff marks. But of course, the coins of the Delhi Sultans used in Bengal were subjected to such markings. Hence, all the old dated coins were marked by the Shroffs by some sort of markings in order to recognise the devalued coins at a glance.

Metal value of gold—Yet another cause of this boring and chopping was to adjust the value of silver coin in respect to the fluctuating metal value of gold. Stuart[1] writes, "The gold mohur of 1766 was intrinsically worth no more than 11½ sicca rupees. 11½ sicca rupees were worth 13.34 current rupees. Now by carrying the denomination of the gold mohur to 14 sicca rupees, the first consequence was, that no body would willingly give 14 silver sicca rupees for this gold coin, which according to the proportional value of gold and silver bullion was worth no more than 11½ silver sicca. The silver was withdrawn from circulation and could not be got by fair means, in exchange for the gold coin."

Consequently, the silver coins were reduced in weight by the Shroffs by boring out and chopping out the metal and thus bringing the silver coin in proportion to the gold value. As a result of this the value of silver coin remained the same for the innocent public but the metal weight has been cleverly reduced.

According to Blochmann,[2] "the object of these marks which are common in early Bengal coins was to depreciate the coins. The real commerce of the country was carried on in cowries, as no copper coins were issued and it suited the bankers and money-changers, when coins bearing the new year were issued arbiterally to declare that the coins of the past year and those of the previous years were no longer 'Kuldar' i. e., all having of full value. Hence, they disfigured the coins to the great loss of the public, by small circular stamps or longitudinal notches so that it is a wonder that so many coins have come down to us with clear dates. Coins of the former years or coins thus marked with Shroffs were often called Sanat, plural of San, a year."

Wright[3] also believes that the counter-marks were impressed by the money-changers and bankers in order to give an artificial depreciation to coins of a previous year or reign.

1. *Principles of Money*, p. 13.
2. *JASB*, xliv, p. 288.
3. *IMC*, Vol. 2, p. 144.

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Lane Poole[1] opines that the counter-marks and cuts scored across the coins represent the avaricious tendencies of the money-changers.

In order to check this system, in view of the annual loss on coinage by the fall of baṭṭā, on the issue of the new siccas, in as late as 1765 it was agreed by the articles of Treaty and Agreement between East India Company and Nawab Najm-ud-Daula of Murshidabad that whosoever shall demand baṭṭā will be punished.

Hall-mark—The other cause of these markings was that sometimes coins were brought to the Surrafs who undertook to test the coin at a certain percentage and guarantee to make good any coins that may afterwards prove to be a counterfiet. The coins so tested were marked either at the edge or at some other parts of the coin by the Surrafs by their distinctive seals for the sake of recognition. The existence of one or more such marks gave a sort of sanction to the currency, as the credit of those who have put their stamp to it was a pledge for its goodness.[2]

Ownership[3] *and Trader's mark*—It was the practice amongst the people in those days to impress their seals of ownersip on coins as well by noblemen, businessmen and rich zamindars. Regarding impressing seal, Burgon[4] writes, "Eastern custom of attaching seals as the pledge of the owner's faith in any given object." A similar view was expressed by Crieghton,[5] where he writes, "the inscriptions (of the coins) with one exception, are in Arabic character but so defaced as to be in some parts illegible which circumstance is chiefly owing to a practice still prevalent among the bankers and the merchants of India, stamping their own mark in every piece of money that passes through their hands."

Moreover, in view of the several defects in the coinage of Bengal, particularly the foreign traders in the port areas needed special guarantee for the purity, weight and full value of the coin. Hence they used to put their own private marks on pieces for identification. The markings used to be either in the shape of some design or initial of their names.

1. *The Coins of the Mohammadan States of India in the British Museum*, p. xxxvii (Introduction).
2. Thurston, *History of Coinage*, p. 45
3. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1895, p. 874.
4. *Numismatic Journal*, 1837, vol. 1, p. 226.
5. *Ruins of Gaur*, p. 11.

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Symbols and its significance

The markings found on the coins of the Sultans of Bengal stand no comparison with the symbolic designs impressed on ancient punch-marked coins. The designs are neither religious nor secular in character but are the result of the personal artistic taste of the individual, with no particular significance.

The following clear and distinct designs have been witnessed on coins which are placed here under different heads (**PL. II. 1-12**).

Symbol	Sultan	Date	Mint	Fig.
1. Floral & Geometric patterns in different types and sizes	Hamza Shah,	Illegible	Illegible	1
	Bayazid Shah,	,,	,,	—
	Nasiruddin Mahmud,	,,	,,	9
	Fath Shah,	,,	,,	7
	Husain Shah,	,,	Darul Zarb	2,8
	Nusrat Shah	,,	Illegible	—
2. Animal figures :				
i. Two elephants facing each other	Hamza Shah	,,	,,	—
ii. A tuskar	Muzaffar Shah	89	Khazana	3
iii. Lion	Nusrat Shah	Illegible	Illegible	4
3. Birds:				
i. Duck	Nusrat Shah	926	Darul Zarb	6
ii. Stork	Fath Shah	Illegible	Fathabad	7
iii. Hoopoe	Husain Shah	,,	Darul Zarb	8
4. Reptile :				
i. Snake	Ahmad Shah,	,,	Illegible	—
	Nasiruddin Mahmud	,,	,,	9
	Nusrat Shah	,,	Barbakabad	—
5. Heavenly bodies :				
i. Star (different sizes)	Hamza Shah	,,	Illegible	—
	Husain Shah	,,	Darul Zarb	8
ii. Star with dot in centre (diff-sizes)	Yusuf Shah	,,	Illegible	12
	Muzaffar Shah	,,	Khazana	3

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iii. Rising sun with rays.	Nasiruddin Mahmud	,,	Illegible	—
iv. Full sun with rays.	Jalaluddin Md. Shah	,,	,,	—
v. Full moon	Fath Shah	(8) 86	Fathabad	7
6. Initials in Bengali	Fath Shah	Illegible	,,	11
	Husain Shah	,,	Darul Zarb	8
	Nusrat Shah	,,	Barbakabad	—
7. Incised markings :				
i. Flower (different types)	Hamza Shah	,,	Illegible	1
	Ahmad Shah	,,	Frozabad	10
	Fath Shah	(8) 86	Fathabad	7
	Nusrat Shah	926	Darul Zarb	6
	Husain Shah	—	,,	2
ii. Cross mark	Ahmad Shah	Illegible	Illegible	—
iii. Star	Hamza Shah	,,	,,	—
8. Other designs:				
i. Eye (different sizes)	Hamza Shah	,,	,,	—
	Ahmad Shah	Illegible	Firozabad	10
	Barbak Shah	,,	Illegible	—
	Husain Shah	899	Fathabad	—
ii. Eye with lids	Husain Shah	Illegible	Darul Zarb	8
iii. Trisul	Fath Shah	,,	Fathabad	11
iv. Check designs	Hasain Shah	912	Darul Zarb	—
v. Conch shell	Muzaffar Shah	89–	Khazana	3

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A UNIQUE COIN OF MAHAKSHATRAPA IŚVARADATTA Ś. 154

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

This coin of the Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta discussed below was brought to the notice of the author by its owner Shri Santoshachandra Prabhachandra Shastri, the well-known jeweller and Numismatic scholar at Indore. My thanks are due to him for giving me permission to publish my views about this unique coin.

The coin is of silver, circular, measuring 1.170 grams, diameter 15 ml., thickness 2 mlg.

Obv. : In the middle the portrait of Iśvaradatta facing right is similar to those of the Kshatrapa kings Vīradāman (Ś. 156-160), Yaśodāman I (Ś. 160-161) and Vijayasena (Ś. 160-172) and the date 154 behind the ear.

Rev. : Chaitya and crescent, slightly obliterated wavy line of river is distinct. Circular Bhāhmī legend–राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस इश्वरदत्तस वर्ष प्र····

The present coin is unique in the numismatic field as it is the only dated coin of Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta so far known. From the various Kshatrapa hoards found so far it appears that generally Iśvaradatta's coins are found along with coins of Kshatrapa rulers and his portraiture is similar to those of the Kshatrapa kings Vīradāman, Yaśodāman I and Vijayasena. The legends on the reverse of his coins mention his first and second regnal years; which suggest that he apparently ruled for a short time The identity between Iśvaradatta and the Ābhir king Iśvarasena which is based on the Purānic and inscriptional evidence has generally been accepted by scholars. But there is difference of opinion as to the period to which Iśvaradatta's rule should be assigned. In the absence of any date on his coins, scholars like Bhagawanlal Indraji,[1] Rapson,[2] Bhandarkar,[3] Gupta,[4] and Sircar[5] propounded different theories regarding the ruling period of Iśvaradatta.

1. *JRAS*, 1890, p. 657.
2. Rapson, E. J., *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. CLXII, 1908, London.
3. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 229.
4. *JNSI*, XVII, p. 94.
5. Sircar, D. C., *Studies in Indian Coins*, 1968, pp. 46-49.

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Bhagawanlala Indraji made ingenious conjecture that the Ābhira and Iśvaradatta were identical and he must be king Iśvarasena, the founder of the Kalachuri-Traikūṭaka era and his first regnal year corresponded with 249 A. D., the initial date of the Kalachuri era. To support his theory he pointed out the absence of Kshatrapa coins between the years Ś. 171 (249 A D.) and Ś. 176. But further discoveries of Kshatrapa coins proved that there was no such break and the dates run continuously between Ś. 171 and Ś 176.

Rapson studied the paleography of the legend on Iśvaradatta's coins. He carefully observed the portraiture of Iśvaradatta and the treatment of eye and pointed out a close resemblance between the features of Iśvaradatta, Vīradāman, Yaśodāman I and Vijayasena, who flourished between Ś. 156 and Ś. 172. Further he indicated that the letter '*ksha*' in Iśvaradatta's coin legend is later than Ś. 130 and the round shape of '*pa*' is earlier than about Ś. 160. Rapson, therefore, placed Iśvaradatta's reigning period between Ś. 158 and the last recorded date of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena and Ś. 161 the earliest date of Mahākshatrapa Yośodāman I.

In the Sarvania hoard of Kshatrapa coins Bhandarkar discovered a coin of Mahākshatrapa Yaśodāman I with the date Ś. 160. He commented on Rapson's conclusions which were based on the palaeographical features of Iśvaradatta's coin legend and the treatment of eye in Iśvaradatta's portraiture and placed Iśvaradatta between Ś. 110 and Ś. 113. Rudrasimha I issued coins in this period with the humbler title of Kshatrapa. According to Rapson this humiliation of Rudrasimha I was due to the usurpation of power by Jīvadāman but according to Bhandarkar Iśvarasena was responsible for this usurpation.

Gupta has drawn attention of scholars by submitting a coin of Rudrasimha I issued as Mahākshatrapa in Ś. 112. He considers the reading of the title Kshatrapa on the coins of that year by Rapson is doubtful and he took it as engraver's mistake. On the basis of the study of coin hoards of Uparkot, Sarvania, Sonepur, Vasoj, Junagadh, Sanchi Gondramau and Karad, he has placed Iśvaradatta more than a century later than the period suggested by Indraji, Rapson and Bhandarkar.

Sircar did not approve of Gupta's theory and has correctly pointed out that the real cause of the absence of the coins of Rudrasena III

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between Ś. 273 and 284 was due to the defeat at the hands of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and suggested reconsideration of Rapson's theory who placed Iśvaradatta between Ś 158 and Ś. 161 on the basis of palaeographical features and the observation of portraiture.

The discovery of the dated coin of Iśvaradatta has removed the obscurity in the history of Iśvaradatta and proved that Rapson's conjectures were remarkably correct. After the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the Andhrabhṛityas-Abhiras came into power but unfortunately the *Purāṇas*[1] do not mention their names. If Iśvaradatta and the Abhira king Iśvarasena are identical then the present coin which is dated in Ś 154 has offered the unique evidence which fixes the terminal year of the Sātavāhana paramountcy.

The coins of Dāmajadaśri II, the son of Rudrasena I, issued in Ś. 154 and Ś. 155 suggest that he enjoyed the status of Kshatrapa. Upto Ś. 160 Yaśodāman I and Vijayasena, both the sons of Dāmasena, were Kshatrapas. In Ś. 161 Yaśodaman I attained the status of Mahākshatrapa and Vijayasena whose coins were circulated on large scale acquired the status of Mahākshatrapa in Ś. 162. It, therefore, appears that the Ābhira Iśvarasena who had a meteoric rise must have ruled between Ś. 154 and Ś. 162 and the Nasik inscription which refers to his 9th regnal year might be the last year of his regime.

The present coin which is dated in S. 154 has reopened the problem of the founder of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era Rapson, who placed Iśvaradatta in the gap of Ś. 158-160 suggested that the era of 249-50 A. D. might have marked the consolidation of the Ābhira kingdom during one of the successors of Iśvaradatta rather than its first beginning but Mirashi[2] has pointed out that the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kushāṇa era, for instance, owed its use to the continuation of Kanishka's regnal dates but this coin has yielded a new evidence to change the old theories.

The *Purāṇas* unfortunately do not name the Ābhira kings but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. The present dated coin of Iśvaradatta has offered an evidence for the reconsideration of Rapson's theory but at present the name of the founder of the Kalachuri era is behind the iron curtain of history.

1. *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, 11 : 29.
2. Mirashi, V. V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 1955, p. xxv.

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THE DATE OF MAHĀKSHATRAPA ĪŚVARADATTA

V. V. MIRASHI

(Pl. VII)

The date of *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta has been a subject of keen controversy for several years. His silver coins imitate those of the Western Kshatrapas They have the bust of the king on the obverse with traces of some Greek letters and a date which has so far been read as the regnal year one or two, and a hill with the crescent on its top, another crescent on the left and a star on the right, with a wavy line below signifying a river. Besiders these, there is the following inscription—*Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshe prathame* (or *dvitīye)*, corresponding to the regnal date on the obverse.

These coins were first deciphered by Bhagvanlal Indraji, who thought that Īśvaradatta had a meteoric rise and ruled for one or two years only in some gap between the dates of the Western Kshatrapas. He placed him in the gap between Śaka 171 and 176 for which no coins had been found till then [1] He also suggested that he was the founder of the Traikūṭaka (or Kalachuri) era commencing in A. D. 250. He further suggested that he was an Ābhīra and was connected with the Ābhīra family of *Rājan* Īśvarasena, whose inscription has been incised in a cave at Nāsik was regared as 'extremely probable' by Rapson.[2] Bhagvanlal's view that Īśvaradatta flourished in the gap between Śaka 171 and 176 was later disproved by the discovery of the coins of *Mahākshatrapa* Vijayasena, which filled the gap. Rapson placed Īśvaradatta in the gap between 158 and 160, for which no coins of any Mahākshatrapa had been discovered,[3] but D. R. Bhandarkar found a coin of *Mahākshatrapa* Yaśodāman dated in (Śaka) 160, in the Sarvāniā hoard, which rendered Rapson's theory untenable [4] Bhandarkar himself suggested the gap between the years 110 and 113 as the period of Īśvaradatta's rule, but Mrs. Gokhale noticed the coins dated

1. *JRAS*, 1890, p. 657.
2. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. cxxxiv.
3. *Ibid*, p. cxxxvi.
4. *ARASI*, 1913-14, pp. 242 ff.

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in the years 110 and 1[16] of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasiṁha I in the Rānjaṇgaon hoard[1] which disproved that theory also.

Mrs. Gokhāle has recently brought to notice a coin of Īśvaradatta which has put an end to this wild goose chase She read a paper on it at the sixty-fifth session of the Numismatic Society of India, which has not yet been published[2], but B. N. Mukherjee has commented on it in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. IX, pp. 237ff. His comments are based on the paper supplied to the delegates of the session. I was awaiting the publication of the paper in this *Journal*, but it has taken too much time. In the meanwhile the Editor pressed me for an article. As Mrs. Gokhale has published the coin with its plate in the Marathi *Vārshika* (Annual) of the Marāṭhawāḍā Samshodhan Maṇḍala, 1976, pp. 94 ff., I propose to discuss the problem of Īśvaradatta's date here on the evidence of that coin.

This coin was found at Indore in Madhya Pradesh. It was obtained from Shri Santoshachandra Prabhachandra Shastri, *Saraf* of the place. It resembles the published coins of Īśvaradatta, but it is regarded as unique, because it has clear symbols of the date denoting the year 154 (**PL. VII. 4**) behind the king's head on the obverse. The legend on the reverse is like that on the previously discovered coins of the Mahākshatrapa, but the word after *Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshe* has not been completely preserved. Only the first *akshara* of it in a mutilated form can be seen on the reverse. From Mukherjee's comments it seems that Mrs. Gokhale first read it as the remnant of *pra* of the word *prathame*. In her article in the aforementioned *Vārshika*, she takes it as *d*, denoting *dvitīye*. In that case, like several other coins of Īśvaradatta discovered before, it will have to be taken as issued in the second regnal year.

On none of the coins of Īśvaradatta published so far was any date of the Śaka era read on the obverse. Rapson noticed the unit symbols denoting 1 or 2 and the same regnal year was mentioned in words in the legend on the reverse of those coins. The present coin has, however, clear symbols denoting the year 154 behind the king's head. If we observe closely the symbols on the coin No. 472 illustrated by Rapson in Plate XIII of his *Catalogue* of Kshatrapa coins, we shall notice the symbol for 50 behind the King's head on that coin. So it seems that it had the date

1. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 37.
2. This paper is included in this volume of the *JNSI* on pp. 34-36. *JPS*

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151 on it as Rapson had already read the unit symbol for 1. This date is given in words as *varshe prathame* in the legend on the reverse of that coin. Some other coins on which Rapson read the unit symbol 2 and which had the regnal year *dvitīya* (second) mentioned in the legend on the reverse must have had symbols denoting the year 152. So the Indore coin which has clear symbols denoting 154 must have had the fourth regnal year (*varsha chaturtha*) mentioned in the legend on its reverse. I could not accept Mrs. Gokhale's reading *dvitīye* on the basis of a mutilated *d* at the end of the preserved legend on the reverse side, and so requested her to send me another copy of the photograph, and when it was received, I noticed at the place the letter *cha*, denoting the fourth year *chaturtha varsha*). Till now Īśvaradatta was believed to have reigned for two years only. The Indore coin shows for the first time that he ruled for at least four years. As the Śaka year 154 (A. D. 232-33) corresponds to his fourth regnal year, he must have come to the throne in Śaka 151 (A. D. 229-30).

We do not know exactly where Īśvaradatta was ruling. His coins have been found in the hoards of Kshatrapa coins discovered in Kāṭhiawād.[1] Rājasthān,[2] Gujarāt[3] and Mahārāshṭra.[4] His title *Mahākshatrapa* shows that like the Western Kshatrapas, he acknowledged the supremacy of the contemporary Kushāṇa king, but unlike them, he was not a Śaka or Scythian. His name is purely Indian. Mrs. Gokhale noticed the coins of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasena bearing Śaka dates from 149 to 156 in the Rānjaṇgaon hoard. So *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta could not have been ruling north of the Narmadā in that period. He was probably holding Northern Mahārāshtra, from where he seems to have raided Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwad some part of which he held for a few years. Hence his coins have been found mixed with those of the Western Kshatrapas. Mrs. Gokhale identified him with the Ābhīra Īśvarasena, whose inscription has been incised in a cave at Nāsik.[5] This identification has no basis. *Mahākshatrapa* Īśavaradatta of the coins is not likely to be identical with *Rājan* Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, of the Nāsik cave inscription. The former was ruling as the Satrap of the contemporary Kushāṇa king, while

1. Vāsoj hoard.
2. Sarvaṇīa hoard, *ARASI*, 1913-14, p. 245.
3. Uparkoṭ hoard.
4. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 27 ff.
5. *CII*, IV, pp. 1 ff.

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the latter did not acknowledge anybody's suzerainty. Again, the former was ruling at least in the period of Saka 151 to 154 (A. D. 229 to 232), while the latter was probably the founder of the Ābhīra era commencing in A D. 250[1]

There is another evidence of Īśvaradatta's rule in Mahārāshṭra in *circa* 230. The Sātavāhanas disappear from history about this time. The main provinces under their rule were North Koṅkaṇ, Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Andhra. They probably rose to power in *circa* 230 B. C. soon after the death of Aśoka in *circa* 236 B. C. According to the Purāṇas their rule lasted for 456 or 460 years.[2] So their downfall may have occurred in *circa* A D. 230. This is what we notice in the four aforementioned main provinces under their rule. The last Sātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been noticed in North Koṅkaṇ is Svāmī Śakasena, who was probably a successor of Yajñāśrī Sātakarṇi.[3] He is evidently identical with the king Śaka Sātakarṇi whose coins were found in the Tarhālā hoard.[4] So his rule extended to Vidarbha also. He had the metronymic *Māḍharīputra* as shown by his inscriptions in the Kānheri caves. Coins of the elephant type with the legend *Māḍharīputra*, which evidently belong to him, have been discovered at Peḍābankur in the Andhra country.[5] So the Sātavāhana kingdom seems to have remained in tact till his reign. We do not get any records of his successors from North Koṅkaṇ, Western Maharashṭra and Vidarbha because the centre of Sātavāhana power was thereafter shifted to Andhra. Vijaya Sātakarṇi, who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the successor of Yajñaśrī, probably ruled after Māḍharīputra Sātakarṇi. He founded Vijayapurī (now called Nāgarjunakoṇḍa) and shifted his capital there.[6] Hence in the account of the Sātavāhanas compiled thereafter, the family is called Andhra, though its original home and its centre of activity for several centuries were in Western Mahārāshtra.

There was a political revolution in all provinces of the Sātavāhana Empire in *circa* A. D. 230. North Koṅkaṇ was conquered by Hāritīputra Sātakarṇi. An inscription in a cave at Kānherī mentions the mother of the

1. *Ibid*, IV, pp. xxii ff.
2. *DKA*, p. 43.
3. Luder's *List*, Nos. 1001 and 1002.
4. *Studies in Incology*, III, p. 44.
5. Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 58-59.
6. *EI*, XXXVI, p. 274.

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Yuvarāj Khada-nāga-Sātaka (i. e. Skanda-Nāga-Sātakarṇī).[1] A closely similar description of the same queen occurs in a pillar inscription at Vanavāsī (North Kanara District) which belongs to the reign of Hāritī-putra Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarni.[2] It shows that the rule of this Sātakarṇi extended from Vanavāsī to Kānheri. Thereafter, the country round Vanavāsī was conquered by the Kadambas while North Koṅkan was occupied by the Ābhīras whose era commencing in A. D. 250 became current there. In Vidarbha a scion of a pious and learned Brāhmaṇa family called Muṇda came to the forefront and established peace and order in the country.[3] In Andhra the Ikshvākus, probably identical with the Śrīparvatīyas of the Purāṇas, occupied the country and ruled for a few years. In Western Mahārāshṭra Īśvaradatta seems to have usurped power. His coins have so far been found mixed with those of the Western Kshatrapas, but that does not mean that he rose to power in the country north of the Narmadā. The Western Kshatrapas were ruling there continously in the first half of the third century A D. He may have raided that country and occupied a part of it for a few years. So his coins which became current there in that period are found mixed with those of the Western Kshatrapas. The Indore coin shows that we may expect to find stray coins of that Mahākshatrapa in that region. His home was probably in Northern Mahārāshṭra; for all other provinces of erstwhile Sātavāhana Empire were occupied by other ruling families who rose to power in that period.

Īśvaradatta does not seem to have ruled over Northern Mahārāshṭra for a long time. We do not know if he had any successor; but in any case Northern Mahārashṭra was occupied by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, in *circa* A. D. 250. He or his successors, of whom there were ten according to the Puraṇas,[4] soon extended their rule to North Koṅkan, Gujarāt, Ṛishīka (Khāndesh) and Anūpa (Nemāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh), where the Ābhīra era was current for a long time.

The Indore coin of Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta is indeed unique since it has a clear date of the Śaka era on its obverse, which has thrown a flood of light on the history of Mahārāshṭra in the second quarter of the third century A. D.

1. *ASWI*, V, p. 36.
2. *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 339 ff.
3. *JIH*, LIV, pp. 1 ff. For a further discussion of its date see my forthcoming paper in *JESI*, IV.
4. *DKA*, p. 46.

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A UNIQUE COIN FROM BENGAL & A REVIEW OF 'IWAḌ'S CAREER

ROMA NIYOGI

(PL. VII)

This is a silver coin which presents, apart from its interesting legends, some peculiar physical features. The obverse margin containing the date is badly damaged apparently by extensive hammering and the details of the date is partially obliterated; the corresponding portions of the reverse legend which occupies the whole flan has also suffered consequently. The edge of the coin is cracked and broken at about 9 o'clock on the reverse. The thickness of the coin along the edge varies but generally it is thinner than the central undamaged area, where the portion of the legend preserved is in good relief. There is no Shroff-mark on the coin. It may be described as follows : Metal—AR : Size—30-31 mm. (Approx.): Wt.—10.50 gm. (Approx).

Obverse : Within a double circle of line and dots the *Kalimah* followed by ناصر امير المومنين

The margin around is almost wholly obliterated except for the two digits of the date between 9 o'clock and 6 o'clock ٠٠٠ , عشرين ستمائة

Reverse : Within a circle of dots

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر التمش (ده ايلتمش) عمو
السلطان يمين خليفة الله

(PL. VII. 2-3)

(The fifth line is illegible)

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Since the coin contains the full name and titles of Iltutmish it should ordinarily be identified as a coin of that Sulṭān of Delhi. The legend, except for the last two legible letters at the end of the third line, is found on some coins of Iltutmish. The main interest of the coin, however, lies at the end of the third line where the edge of the coin at 9 o'clock on the reverse is broken; though the area is very badly damaged it still shows clearly the first part of an ع combined with what looks like an و with the last stroke of ش of Iltutmish intervening in between. Needless to say these additional letters neither fit in with any of the known legends of the Sulṭān, nor do they make any sense as they are.

A comparison of our coin with number 4 of the Indian Museum Cabinet[1] gives us a clue to the solution of the problem. On this coin at the end of the third line almost in the same position and angle after الفتح occurs the name of its issuer 'Iwaḍ, an independent Sulṭān of Bengal who was forced to submit to Iltutmish in 622 A. H. for a short while and was subsequently killed by a son of the Delhi Sulṭān in 624 A. H.; the fabric of the coin also is generally similar to that of 'Iwaḍ's coins. On considerations of similarity of numismatic types and fabric and contemporaneity of 'Iwaḍ and Iltutmish the partially obliterated superfluous word in the third line on the reverse of the coin under discussion may be restored as عوض The damaged margin of the coin retains two-ṭhirds of the date, 600 and 20; the partially obliterated word for the remaining digit, however, shows faintly its final curve, open to right, and may be restored as اربع و سبع وتسع or اثنے The known history of 'Iwaḍ cancels the first three restorations and indicates that the date may be read as 622. The coin thus appears to be some sort of a joint issue of 'Iwaḍ, the Sulṭān of Bengal and Iltutmish the Delhi Sulṭān to whom the former submitted in 622 A. H. But the manner in which the name of 'Iwaḍ

1. *IMC*, II (ii), pp. 145-46; also vide illustration 2, taken from a coin of this type.

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seems to have been thrown into the Iltutmish legend rather casually and hastily is definitely curious. The piece, of course, appears to have been struck as a token of 'Iwaḍ's submission to Delhi in 622 A. H.; but was it done in such careless haste in order to expedite the withdrawal of the Delhi army ? There was apparently no time to prepare a composite legend with the protocols of both the new vassal and his overlord; the Iltutmish legend may have been supplied on behalf of the Delhi Sulṭān from one of his coins, while 'Iwaḍ's name was appended to the third line by the local designer or die-cutter obviously because he had before him a specimen on which the name of the Bengal Sulṭān occurs in the same position. But why did 'Iwaḍ take the trouble and risk of issuing these hasty and half-hearted pieces during his "second vassalage" when he could have solved the problem easily and in a more satisfying manner by reissuing the same type of coins which he is claimed to have been issuing during his "first vassalage" ?

Before discussing the Delhi-Bengal clash in 622 A. H. and its results, a relevant review of 'Iwaḍ's early career in India and his contacts with the agents of Delhi may be attempted.

On coming to Hindustan, Minhāj states, "he joined Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyār and his affairs reached such a point that the coins of the territory of Lakhanautī was stamped and the *Khuṭbah* thereof read, in his name and they styled him by the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn."[1] The Ṭabaqāt further informs us that he was appointed the feudatory of 'Gangūrī' by this Muḥammad.[2] When the latter was assassinated by 'Alī Mardān in 602 A. H. at Deokot, Muḥammad Shirān "the head of the Khaljī *Amīrs*" and to whom all paid homage, came to Deokot to perform the last rites of the dead leader. Then the assassin was imprisoned but all other Khaljī *amīrs* were allowed to retain their respective fiefs. 'Alī Mardān, however, escaped and sought the intervention of Delhi. Quṭbu-d-Dīn instructed Qāemāz Rūmī, who was at Avadh, to proceed to Bengal. It is important to note here that the local head-quarters to the east of Avadh was under the Khaljī nobles and since their first leader Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyār conquered both Bihar and Nūdiāh and Lakhanautī the whole area was placed in his charge. Qāemāz's approach to the east seems to have created a rift in the Khaljī front; 'Iwaḍ, the feudatory of 'Gangūrī', came forward, apparently to help the Delhi agent restore order and, was

1. *TN* (Raverty), p. 581.
2. Ibid, pp. 575 ff.

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later-rewarded by being made the feofee of Deokot. We do not know for certain whether 'Iwaḍ at this stage combined under him the charges of both 'Gangūrī' and Deokot, but his growth of power through the Delhi agent was not liked by the other nobles who turned against him as Qāemāz left. The latter, however, returned immediately to beat back the anti-Delhi *Amīrs*, later there was a disagreement among them and Muḥammad Shirān was killed. In the mean time 'Alī Mardān came back to Delhi after his adventures at Ghaznī and was given the charge of the territory of Lakhanautī by Quṭb. 'Iwaḍ, once more came forward to welcome the Delhi agent. After the death of Qutbu-d-Dīn in 607 A. H. 'Alī Mardān assumed independence and inaugurated a brief era of cruel and oppressive rule during which he put to death many Khaljī nobles. Ultimately he was killed by the remaining *Amīrs*, who then raised 'Iwaḍ to the throne of Lakhanautī. This incidence must have taken place in or after 610 A. H., a date read recently on a coin of 'Alī Mardān.[1]

There is a controversy among the scholars on the next phase of 'Iwaḍ's career; some like Thomas and Nelson Wright believe that after 'Alī Mardān's assassination he took over the charge of the Muslim conquered Bengal as a governor of Delhi and issued the Horseman type of coins in the name of Iltutmish,[2] while others like Dani and Karim argue that he was an independent Sulṭān till his subjugation by Iltutmish in 622 A. H.[3] A recent discovery of a few coins has strengthened the arguments of the first group by showing apparently that the Horseman coins of the Muslims in India originated in Bengal.[4] Both the groups have extensively utilised and variously interpreted the available numismatic evidence to support their respective views. The literary evidence on 'Iwaḍ's career, however, has not been studied in detail in this connection.

The earliest and the fullest account of 'Iwaḍ's career is found in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. Minhāju-d-Dīn, the author of the work came to the court of Iltutmish in *Ramḍān*, 625 A. H., about a year after the demise of 'Iwaḍ; between 640 and 643 he spent about two years in the territory of Lakhanautī.[5] Subsequent writers on the topic have borrowed exten-

1. *The Monthly Bulletin of The Asiatic Society*, April, 1976.
2. *JASB*, 1873, pp. 343 ff.; *Coins and Metrology of the Sulṭāns of Delhi*, p. 16.
3. *JNSI*, XVII (1955), pt. 2, pp. 107 ff. & XXII (1960), pp. 205 ff
4. *JNSI*, XXXV (1973), pp. 196 ff.
5. *TN* (Raverty), pp. xxvi ff.

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sively from his work; the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* obtained materials up to the reign of Balban from it and Firishtah's account for the period is again based upon Nizamu-d-Dīn's.[1] 'Iwaḍ's name is mentioned for the first time by Minhāj in a list of "the Sulṭān's (i. e Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām's) dependents who attained unto soverignty" and his career has been described in detail in Section XX, which deals with the Mu'izziah Sulṭāns of Hind."[2] An independent entity of Lakhanautī region after Quṭbu-d-Dīn's death has been stressed by Minhāj when he informs us that "Hindustan became subdivided into four portions, the territory of *Sind*....., the dominion of *Delhi*....., the territory of *Lakhanautī* was appropriated by the Khaljī *Maliks* and Sulṭāns and the state of *Lahore* .."[3] With these references now may be compared a fourth one from the same source—a list of the *Maliks* of Iltutmish; it does not include the name of 'Iwaḍ but mentions one Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Daulat Shāh Balkā as the *Malik* of Lakhanautī[4] The omission of 'Iwaḍ's name from the list of the *Maliks* of Iltutmish is clearly indicative of the fact that he had never served as a *Malik* under this Sulṭān of Delhi. Similarly indicative is the reference to both *Maliks* and Sulṭāns in the preceding extract; one of the Khaljī *Maliks* who appropriated the territory of Lakhanautī was 'Alī Mardān, the rebel, and the Sulṭān who did so was evidently 'Iwaḍ.

Raverty wondered why the names of the first three rulers of Bengal are omitted in the list of those "who attained unto sovereignty;" obviously, that was because the first of the three remained loyal and never became a sovereign ruler, the second Muḥammad Shirān fought against the Delhi agent and 'Alī Mardān was a *Malik* who 'rebelled unto sovereignity'. Thus 'Iwaḍ was the first Sulṭān of Bengal who was not a rebel governor, but after the assassination of 'Alī Mardān, was placed upon the throne of the independent territory of Lakhanautī by the local *Amīrs* in the same way as Iltutmish was upon the throne of Delhi by the Delhi *Amīrs*. Many of the Khaljī nobles had been killed recently by 'Alī Mardān and those who lived at that time certainly supported the independence of Bengal though not the unscrupulous and tyrannical activities of the Sultān; therefore, having killed him they selected from amongst themselves a wise

1. Ibid., p. xii.
2. Ibid., pp. 489 & xl.
3. Ibid., p. 530.
4. Ibid., p. 626.

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level-headed diplomat who had held important posts from the time of Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyār and yet had been able to survive with honour three regimes and three violent political changes. The subsequent history proved the wisdom of this selection.

In this connection may be noted another extract from Minhāj's description of 'Iwaḍ's career; when Iltutmish "came into the territory of Lakhanautī to supress the *sedition* of *Malik* Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Balkā the Khalj and beheld the good works of Ghiyasu-d-Dīn 'Iwaḍ the Khalj, whenever mention of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn 'Iwaḍ's name chanced to arise he would style him by the title of 'Sulṭān Ghiyasu-d-Dīn Khaljī' and from his sacred lips he would pronounce that there could be no reluctance in styling a man Sulṭān who had done so much good."[1] It is significant that no such term as suppression of *sedition* or rebellion has been used by Minhāj in connection with the Delhi expeditions against 'Iwaḍ. Significant also is the open-hearted praise which does not seem to have been bestowed by a harassed sovereign upon a recalcitrant servant who had flouted his authority and rebelled twice and had thus given him no end of troubles. The passage on the other hand breaths a victor's honest appreciation of the true merits of the fallen foe of equal status.

Since these conclusions based on literary evidence is incompatible with the recent interpretation of the latest numismatic discoveries, the latter may be re-examined to find out whether they really yield any conclusive evidence on this point.

The numismatic history of the few centuries prior to the Muslim conquest of India shows that 'Horseman' on coins was familiar in North-western and Northern India and not in the eastern region. The cautious monetary policy of the Muslim conquerors in India in the 12th and 13th centuries is manifested by some of their issues in which they have imitated the familiar Indian types. While as a parallel to the 'Indian Horseman', the 'Turkish Horseman' from the coinage of Ghūr aud Herat was most

1. Ibid., pp. 586-87. Minhāj uses a very strong term تمنا to describe the move of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Balkā. I am grateful to Mr. Abdul Khallaque of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, who has very kindly helped me to check up some of the extracts from Raverty's translation referred to in these papers with the originals of Minhaj.

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probably introduced on some Ghūrī coins in India, the "Gauḍa-vijaye-Horseman" issue was certainly inspired by the conquest of Gaur.[1] But since there is no mint-name what is there to prove that it was struck in Bengal and not in any other part of the Muslim-occupied India, preferably Northern or North-western India, to be distributed among the Turkish nobles of Delhi and Lahore (probably also Ghazni), where the Horseman type of billon coins with the name of Muḥammad bin Sām in Nāgarī script were already introduced ? 'Alī Mardān may have been impressed by this commemorative issue during his visits to Delhi and Ghazni and later as an independent Sulṭān of Bengal adopted the type on his coins probably in the same spirit in which "he began granting investitures of different parts of the realm of Hindustān" and even of Ghaznī, Khurāsān and Isfahān.[2]

Since the probability of the "Gauḍa-vijaye" coins being issued from Northern or North-western India cannot yet be overruled it seems very natural that Iltutmish would be issuing this type of coins from the early part of his reign. Majority of his coins are mintless; some refer vaguely to the places of minting as 'Bilād al-Hind' and only a few contain specific names of towns as minting places, mostly Delhi. The illustration of the coin on which "bi-Gaur" has been read unhesitatingly by Lowick is so badly reproduced in the plate[3] that no dot is visible anywhere near these letters; on the gold Horseman piece with the same mint-name Thomas has noted the absence of dots.[4] With the requisite dot missing the mint-name may be read as either, bi-Gaur بگور or, Nagore, نگور

The first reading should not be preferred simply because on the coins "of Bengal in particular, the word *ḍariba* 'struck' is invariably followed

1. An interesting difference between the 'Indian Horseman' and the 'Turkish Horseman' on the Indian coins of this period may be noted here; while the Indian Horseman generally moved to right, that is, east towards the Rising Sun, the Turkish Horseman moved to left, that is west towards Meccah. Vide *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (Thomas), pp. 78-79 & *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 197 & 207 ff.; P. L. Gupta's rendering of the Nāgarī legend seems to be the correct one.
2. *TN* (Raverty), pp. 578-9.
3. *JNSI*, XXXV, pl. XV, no 3.
4. *JASB*, 1873, p. 352.

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by *bi*. Not until 696 A. H. do we encounter a new formula....."; a new coin of Yūzbak, recently discovered,[1] is dated 652 and records clearly the mint-name without the preposition *bi* simply as *Nūdia* ضرب نودیا and thus not only introduces a new and the simplest mint formula 44 years earlier but also shows that sometimes mint-names were presented in two different styles in the same reign. It is sensible to realize that in those early days of both the Delhi Sulṭāns and the Bengal Sulṭāns neither, any fixed mint formula nor, any fixed minting establishments in many towns (and therefore, probably also no local calligraphic peculiarities) had yet developed.

Even if the mint-name is read as Gaur, we have still to remember that Gaur and Lakhanautī were not synonymous terms in the thirteenth century In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* there is only one reference to Gaur and there it is explicitly mentioned as a *balad* (territory), which was bigger than the territory of Lakhanautī; thus, while 'Alī Mardān subjugated the territory of Lakanautī, 'Iwaḍ not only ruled over the state of Lakhanautī but also, "the parts around about .....such as Jāj-nagar, the countries of Bang Kāmrūd and Tirhut all sent tribute to him; and the whole of the territory of Gaur passed under his control."[2] In the centuries preceding the muslim conquest of Bengal, the geographical term 'Gauḍa' generally referred to a vast tract with variable frontiers over which the Pāla and the Sena kings ruled with the proud title of "Gauḍeśvara." In the 11th or 12th century Krishṇa Miśra in the *Prabodhachandrodaya* mentions *Gauḍa-rāshṭra*; the Jaina writers of the 13th and 14 centuries included *Laksmaṇāvatī* within *Gauḍa*.[3] The *Rājataraṅginī* refers to a curious term "Pañcha-Gauḍa", which according to the *Skanda-purāṇa* indicated besides Gauḍa proper, the Eastern Punjab, the Gangetic Doab, Northern Bihar and Northern Orissa.[4] All these references explain why the conquest of Gauḍa inspired a numismatic commemoration by the Muslims. With the conquest of the eastern tracts and the defeat of the last *Gauḍeśvara* by the Khaljī warrior, his Ghūrī overlord

1. A brief note on this coin is being published elsewhere in this Journal, Ed.
2. *TN* (Raverty), pp. 578, 587-88. Minhāj indicates that both a territory (*balad* or *mulk*) and its capital (*dār al-mulk*) were known as Lakhanautī.
3. Act II, *IHQ*, 1928, p. 239 & *JASB* (1908), p. 281.

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probably intended to keep up the political tradition by declaring himslf the new *Gauḍeśvara* through the "Gauda-vijaye" coins. Subsequently as 'Iwaḍ became the Sulṭān, he also brought the whole *balad of Gaur* under his sway. Iltutmish sent several expeditions against him and even before 622 A. H. he achieved some success and recovered Bihar; along with some ordinary mintless coins he might have struck some *bi-Gaur* coins also to celebrate his partial success against this lord of Gaur.[1]

The available numismatic evidences thus do not provide us with any conclusive proof of 'Iwaḍ's vassalage from 610 A. H. Under the circumstances until more literary and numismatic evidences are forthcoming to demolish the evidence of Minhāj and substantiate unequivocally the theory of Thomas and others, 'Iwaḍ should be reasonably regarded as an independent Sulṭān till 622 A. H.

To continue our review we may now note after Minhāj that Sulṭān Ghiyasu-d-Dīn made the city of Lakhanautī his seat of government and founded the fort of 'Basan-kot'. He built many *masjids* and was munificient to theologicians and priests and liberal to all. The embankments which he built developed the communication system of the region. In short he was "a monarch worthy, just and benevolent." His political suzereinty was recognized by 'Jājnagar, Bang, Kāmrūd and Tirhut' which paid him tribute. From 617 A. H. 'Iwaḍ introduced the name of the Khalifa Al-Nāṣir al-Dīn Allāh on some of his coins though most probably he never received a formal investiture.[2] The evidence of coins indicates that the Khaljī Sulṭān was at the height of his power in 620-21 A. H. when he sometimes described himself as the 'Sulṭān of Sulṭāns' on some of his coins.[3] Though

1. *RT*, IV, 469, & *Skanda-Purāṇa* op. cit. *Śabdakalpadruma* (Gauḍa).
2. Dani, op. cit. *Corpus of Muslim Coins of Bengal* (Karim), p. 21.
3. Lowick while describing the coins of this type has proposed to take the phrase as qualifying one Mughisu-d-Dīn 'Alī whom he identifies with 'Alī Mardān. He is undoubtedly correct when he reads the last word in the fifth line as *burhān* which shows clearly on two unpublished coins I have come across; but his theory about the title does not sound convincing. Why would a Sultān, who was receiving tribute from so many countries and was issuing coins independently for at least four years, suddenly issue a coin in which he would humbly omit his own proud title but describe the preceding Sultān who was no relative of his, as Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn ? And specially when the latter was a murderer of the former's immediate master and was later murdered for his tyranny and

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Iltutmish had been busy with various problems in other parts of his kingdom, even before 622 A. H. he became conscious of the growing power of 'Iwad and had sent several expeditions to the east and brought the province of Bihar under his sway. The assumption of the title of 'Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn' by the Bengal Sulṭān, however, brought the matters to a head and in 622 Iltutmish himself led an expedition to the east. Minhāj refers to a naval operation by 'Iwaḍ but no engagement is mentioned; yet he submitted to Iltutmish, gave him some elephants and treasure amounting to 80 lakhs and also read the *Khuṭbah* and issued coins in his name.[1] The final trial of strength between the two Sulṭāns was thus postponed for the time being; 'Iwaḍ remained in possession of most of his territories but not with honour unimpaired. Before he left the area Iltutmish must have seen to it that his new vassal performed the usual obligatory rites; we can visualize 'Iwad fulfilling the most obnoxious terms of the treaty by reading the *Khuṭbah* and striking coins like the one under discussion, in the name of his new overlord halfheartedly and in haste to expedite his departure. Having appointed *Malik* 'Izzu-d-Dīn Jānī as the governor of Bihar Iltutmish went back to Delhi. The so called Bengal type of coins of Iltutmish, dated 622, may have been issued from Bihar during this period.[2] Striking similarity in fabric and legends of these coins and those of some of 'Iwaḍ's has been noted by Thomas. Curiously enough Iltutmish introduced the name of the Khalīfah Al-Nāṣir al-Dīn Allāh on some of his coins for the first time

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oppression by those *Amīrs* who raised the former to the throne ? Also it is not correct to surmise that 'the title of Sultān always precedes a ruler's other titles'; firstly, in 620-21 A. H. the Muslim coins in India were being issued only for about a quarter of a century, too short a time for any tradition of fixed protocol to develop and secondly, the Bengal Sultāns have seldom followed any fixed protocol or pattern on their coins. On the coins of Sikandar Shāh, 'Azam Shāh and many other rulers of Bengal 'Sulṭān' sometimes preceded sometimes followed the other titles.

1. *TN* (Raverty), pp. 590-94 & 610.
2. *JASB*, 1873, p. 359, no. 9 with a reverse like nos. 6 & 7 of Iwad. We do not know whether Iltutmish noticed the half-hearted nature of the coinage and forced 'Iwaḍ to withdraw the same and issue a new type possibly, the so called Bengal type of 622 A. H.; but in that case when 'Iwaḍ violated the treaty he would have taken care to supress the second issue also. The fact that these 'Bengal type' coins are not rare to find even to-day shows that they were minted and circulated in areas beyond 'Iwad's political jurisdiction for the time being, possibly Bihar till it was re-occupied by 'Iwaḍ.

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in 622 A. H., the year in which he led his expedition against 'Iwaḍ. Since he received the investiture from the Khalīfah in 626 A H., it was the unauthorized use of the Khalīfah's name on the coins of his 'vassal' which must have instigated or inspired him to do the same about four years before he was authorized to do so.[1]

Immediately after the withdrawal of Iltutmish, 'Iwaḍ violated the treaty by resuming independence and reoccupying Bihar. The general physical condition of the coin under discussion suggests that at this stage he may have attempted to suppress the coins which he had been forced by circumstances to issue during his brief vassalage. There was no instant reaction on the part of the Delhi Sulṭānate; but in 624 A. H. when 'Iwaḍ was away on an expedition to 'Kāmrūd and Bang', Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd the eldest son of Iltutmish came from Avadh and occupied Lakhanautī. After an unsuccessful attempt to recover his capital 'Iwaḍ was killed in a battle by the Delhi army. According to Minhaj "his reign extended over a period of twelve years.[2] The earliest date found so far on his coins is, "12th Dhul-Qadah 616"[3] and the last 621. In 622 A. H. he had to issue some coins in the name of Iltutmish. No coins representing the last phase of his reign have yet been discovered. Probably for obvious financial reasons he was not in a position to issue coins during the period; the transfer of treasure amounting to 80 lakhs from Lakahanautī to Delhi must have sorely depleted his treasury and at the same time the countries like 'Kāmrūd and Bang' may have stopped paying tribute to the "vassal of Delhi."

The coin under discussion is at present a unique piece. 'Iwaḍ must have made a systematic attempt to withdraw and suppress this half-hearted 'joint' issue immediately after his resumption of independence, possibly within a few days after Iltutmish' departure. While most of the pieces which chanced to pass into private hands were probably melted down, a few might have been kept away; and some one seems to have tried to deface all proofs of 'Iwad's vassalage from one such piece. This unique thirteenth century *tankah* from Bengal thus adds a new chapter to the numismatic history of both 'Iwaḍ and Iltutmish.

1. *TN* (Raverty), p. 616 & *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 243 ff.
2. Has Minhaj counted here only the years between 610 and 622 A. H. when 'Iwad ruled as an independent Sulṭan in Bengal ?
3. *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 203 & fn. 3.

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TOKENS IMITATING COINS OF AWADH AND OTHER STATES

K. W. WIGGINS

(PL. VIII)

It has long been suspected by collectors interested in the later native coins of India that a certain type of copper coin resembling the 19th century paisa of Awadh may have been produced at a considerably later date and elsewhere than at their original place of mintage.

Valentine must have had this suspicion when he compiled his well known work,[1] for he states that "Native paisa imitating those of Banaras struck in the province of Oudh and possibly at the Lakhnau mint.....the latter are of a degenerate type with reversed incriptions."[2] He continues "207 to 215 are apparently of the same reading, give various dates and show a gradual degeneracy of the coinage from the original type."[3]

Valentine was, of course, referring to two well known types : (a) the paisa with the mint name of Muhammadabad Benares, struck in the name of Shah Alam II by the Nawab Wazirs of Awadh. The coin is in the same style as the Sanah 26 *Machlidar* rupee. (b) the paisa and its fractions struck by the Kings of Awadh from A. H. 1234 to A. H. 1272 and bearing the arms of Awadh on the obverse, again very similar in style to the rupees of the same period.

A glance at Valentine's illustrations will reveal that he observed two different types of *Machlidar* paisa. One is in reasonably fine style, perhaps struck from the same dies as the rupees. The other is a mere caricature of this coin.[4] He also depicts two different styles of paisa with the coat of arms. One type is a well struck piece with perfectly correct Persian legends, the second appears to be a rather crude copy of this coin with unreadable inscriptions.[5]

1. Valentine, W. H., *The Copper Coins of India*, Part I, Bengal and the U. P., Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1914.
2. *Ibid*, p. 114.
3. *Ibid*, p. 118.
4. *Ibid*, p. 115.
5. *Ibid*, p. 119.

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Certainly there was no gradual degeneration of this latter coinage for the final issues of Wajid Ali Shah were dated A.H. 1272 (1855-56 A.D.), the year of his forced abdication and are extremely well produced coins. Thereafter no coinage was issued for Awadh.

It, therefore, seemed logical to assume that the degenerate, unartistic pieces may have been forgeries or perhaps copies, produced outside of the Kingdom of Awadh and used as money in some neighbouring state.

Confirmation that this assumption was well founded is disclosed by the following correspondence between various officials of the Government of the North West Provinces in the years 1869-1872. This correspondence shows the production of imitations of the old Lucknow paisa on a grand scale; posing a serious monetary problem for the authorities. Not only were copies of the old Lucknow coins made but various other types of obsolete coppers were produced.

The series of official letters now given shows the nature and extent of the problem and the steps taken to abolish it. Comment is given where necessary for clarification on various points.

The first notice of the Lucknow copies appears to be contained in a letter dated the 5th January, 1869, from J. W. Halsey, the Magistrate at Cawnpore, to the Mint Master at Calcutta, in response to a request for information regarding the supply of native pice in some districts in sufficient quantity to retard the use of the Government pice. Mr. Halsey's reply to this enquiry is as follows : "In reply to your No. 502 of the 18th November last, I have the honour to enclose all the information I can give you as regards the manufacture of native pyce. They are largely imported from the Native States in Bundelcund and will continue to be so until the Government pyce circulation is quite doubled, as the present amount is quite insufficient and as a general rule locked up in the Government Treasury."[1]

With this letter was a document entitled "Memo of pyces Current in the District of Cawnpore" which contained the following particulars :

1. Sheirshahee of Lucknow	This is one of the Lucknow pyces and was manufactured in the reign of Nasirooddeen Hyder, King of Oudh, in the year 1249 Hijree.

1. Financial Proceedings (Govt. of India), January, 1869.

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2.	Pooleeshahee of Lucknow	Ditto, in the time of Mahommad Alee, King of Awadh in 1253 Hijree.
3.	Pureeshahee of Lucknow	Ditto, Wajidallee, King of Oudh, 1263 Hijree.
4.	Shumasheirshahee of Lucknow	Ditto, ditto in 1270 Hijree.
5.	Muchleeshahee and Old Muchleeshahee of Lucknow	Old coin of Lucknow (no further information available).
7. 8. 9.	Jaypuree, Jharshahee and Katarshahee	Old coins of Jeypoor (information not available).
10.	Gwalior pyse	Manufactured at Gwalior (information not available).
11.	Agra pyce	Old coin of Agra (no information available).
12.	Maharajshahee	No information available.
13.	Moddooshahee	This pyce is also called the pucka pyce of Akbarshah and is manufactured at Allahabad, it bears no inscription.
14.	Ballashahee	Imported from Jhansie (no information available).
15.	Tehree	This pyce was manufactured in Bundelcund (no information available).
16.	Gorruckporee	No information available.
17.	These pyce were originally Pureeshahee and Old Muchleeshahee of Lucknow	The pyce were originally manufactured at Lucknow (nos. 3 and 6) and lately by Mr. R. Foley of Cawnpore

This list is of interest in that it shows that a wide variety of copper coins were in circulation in and around Cawnpore at that time. It would appear that actual specimens accompanied the latter to Calcutta and entry No. 17 draws attention to coins which are copies of Nos. 3 and 6. These copies had evidently been manufactured privately in Cawnpure by a Mr. R. Foley, possibly a European tradesman.

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The other coins described in the memo are of no particular interest so far as this paper is concerned and it is not suggested in the correspondence that copies of these were produced locally.

Subsequent to the receipt of this letter in Calcutta a further note in the records states that the Governor General in Council observes that the list of copper coins furnished by the Mint Master at Calcutta includes, firstly, coins of extinct dynasties and secondly, spurious coins of those dynasties manufactured by Mr. Foley of Cawnpore.

Nothing further is on record regarding the dubious activities of Mr. Foley but presumably his occupation of minting copies of old coins was terminated by the authorities.

The next reference we have to the manufacture of imitation coins comes from G. H. M. Ricketts, Officiating Commissioner of the Jhansi Division of the North West Provinces in a letter to the Officiating Secretary to the Government, North Western Provinces and dated 6th October, 1870.[1] He reports :

No. 408, dated 6th October, 1870,

From—G. H. M. Ricketts, Esq., C. B., *Offg. Commr. of the Jhansie Division,*

To—The Offg. Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces.

I have the Honor to submit the particulars of a coining case for the consideration of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. The Central Provinces have lately been inundated with a quantity of copper coin, made chiefly in imitation of an old Lucknow coin, bearing a rude impression of the Lucknow fish; but several other native coins have also been imitated and their counterfeits circulated.

3. Police enquiry has shown that these coins are made in immense quantities in the Native States and Jagheers all around Mow Raneepore. That town is the great mart for their purchase, and in and around Mow itself the manufacture of these coins has been constantly carried on. Every blacksmith and goldsmith in that neighbourhood is a proficient in the trade, and coins of any required kind can be purchased by the ton at any time in the Mow bazars.

1. Financial Dept. Proceedings, February, 1872.

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4. As far as British territory is concerned, this manufacture is perfectly illegal, and the District Officer, who has become aware of it, will take measures to stop it.

5. But it is, as regards the practice in Native States, that I submit intervention is required, and amongst these the great offender is Tehree.

6. The Tehree Chief is permitted to coin, but not to transfer the right. It has been his practice to give (or probably to sell) licenses to coin to numerous dealers in, and makers of, coin in his territory, and our existing law cannot stop the practice

7. Section 230 of the Penal Code defines coin "as metal used as money stamped and issued by the authority of some Government."

8. Section 17 defines the meaning of the word "Government" as the person or persons authorized by law to administer executive Government in British India.

9. And Section 15 defines "British India" so as to exclude Native States.

10. So unless Tehree and others, but chiefly Tehree, can be compelled to refrain from their present practice of permitting these coins to be made within their limits, the traffic will continue to the great detriment of our own coinage, and loss to our Government.

11. The next step will be to issue base coin from these mints, and then our loss will be very serious, and trade will be much injured. At present the coin is current for very nearly its value as common copper for manufacturing purposes.

12. Remembering this fact, I think the best plan would be to enact that all coin not of any recognized coinage is contraband, and that its possessor, from the mere fact of being its possessor, is liable to punishment under our law. A period should be allowed to enable holders of this coin to convert it into some other form, which, as I have said above, would entail but little loss, and further to establish what coins are, or are not, to be current, it would be requisite for each Native State to submit to our Government specimens of their own coinage, from which they should not be allowed to deviate. Further specimens might be sent to each district, and then what was 'legally current would soon become generally recognized.

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13. In this view of the subject, I have submitted a report to the same purport as this to the Secretary, Legislative Council, recommending a consideration of the point, and suggesting in the spirit of the above remarks that a section should be added to the "Coining" Sections about 252 or 253 of the Code, to this effect—That whoever has in his possession copper coin not impressed with a stamp recognized by the British Government, shall be liable to forfeiture of the coin, and punishment with imprisonment of either kind for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

14. This would stop the practice I report on more effectually than any political action, as it would close the market against all counterfeits.

This letter appears to be the first notice that the authorities received of the large scale manufacture of these pieces and confirms the statement of the Magistrate of Cawnpore that "they are largely imported from the native States in Bundelcund."

The Commissioner, without going into detail, has briefly brought the problem to notice. He names the centre for the transactions concerning these coins to be Mow Raneepore. This place may be readily identified as the present town of Mau Ranipur, some 40 miles east of Jhansi on the railway.

The practice of coining was illegal in the British Territory under a section of the Criminal Code but as the Commissioner points out, the bulk of these coins were made in the native state of Tehri (also known as Orchha) whose territory, at that time, was adjacent to and practically encircled the town of Mau Ranipur. The Commisssioner goes on to suggest, rather prematurely, steps that might be taken in the British Territory to put a stop to the traffic.

Quite properly, the Secretary to the North West Provincial Government desired more information on the subject and addressed himself to the Commissioner of the Jhansi Division :

No. 1404A, dated 5th November, 1870.

From—C. A. Elliott, Esq., *Offg. Secy. to the Govt., N. W. Provinces,*

To—The Officiating Commissioner of the Jhansie Division.

In reply to your letter No. 408, dated the 6th October last, I am directed to request that you will be good enough to forward specimens of

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the coins therein reported on and at the same time furnish further details as the Jagheers or other localities in which they are manufactured, and whether they are coined by express authority from the Tehree Chief or not.

As a result of this communication the authorities in Jhansi requested further details from their subordinate officials. Mr. G.V. Sturt, the Assistant Commissioner, Jhansi, replied on the 9th January, 1871 :

Dated 19th January, 1871.

From—G. V. STURT, Esq. *Offg. Asst. Commr.*,

To—*The Deputy Commissioner, Jhansie.*

With reference to the Commissioner's letter No. 448 B, dated 10th ultimo, on the subject of pice manufactured in the neighbouring districts, I have the honor to forward specimens of ten different descriptions, with a list giving their names, impressions, all the particulars, as much as could be collected here.

From the investigation made in the late coin case, it appeared that pice of four descriptions, *viz.*, Pootlee Shaie and Nawabee of Lucknow, Tirsoolee of Nagpore, and Bala Shaie of Jaloun, had been extensively manufactured at the places named in margin, at different periods for the last 20 years or more. But in former times, prior to the British rule, every kind given in the list is supposed to have been made at Mow itself. There was apparently no restriction as to the descriptions made at each manufactory.

1. Tori Futtehpore dependency of Orcha.
2. Bunkoree Orcha.
3. Sursair Allyore.
4. Kurrara Gurowice

With the exception of Orcha or Tehree State, none of the other three Chiefs, I believe, have the authority to coin, but, apparently in the manufacture of the so-called coins, no authority was required, and as no monopoly was exercised in their manufacture, the right was never questioned.

The manufacturers obtained permission to carry on the work by paying a duty on the weight of the coins manufactured.

Dr. Stratton, Political Agent at Nowgong, I believe, has thoroughly investigated the question as to the right of coinage possessed by the different Native Governments, and whether the pice in question were made under

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proper authority or not. A reference should be made to him on the point. As to the character of these coins, it appears to me that as almost every description has the impression of the Delhi coin on one side, they are evidently made after that pattern; the other side bears the mark adopted by the District or Government where, or by permission of which, they were manufactured.

All the different descriptions are current in every market in these districts, because they sell simply at the intrinsic value of the metal, and the price varies with the rise and fall in the market value of copper.

In Bandah District, I am informed, the manufacturers avoid the difficulty arising from stamping the pice with any particular mark by making it plain. These are called the "chikna pysa."

I may here remark that the great difficulty in the circulation of Government pice in this district is principally owing to the fact that in the Native States the value of our currency is not recognised, and in common transactions with these districts our subjects cannot obtain its full value.

The regulation price of Government pice is three times the intrinsic value of copper at its present market rate.

List of Copper Coins in Currency in the District

No.	Names of	Of what District	Remarks
1.	Tope Shaie or Mogaolee	Scindia	Supposed to bear the impression of a gun or cannon.
2.	Maharaj Shaie	Gwalior ...	Bearing the impression of a sword.
3.	Lushkuree or Tirsoolee or Guwaja Shaie ...	Ditto ...	With a trident.
4.	Lushkuree	.... Ditto	... Serpent's head (specimens not found).
5.	Bala Shaie	.... Jaloun	... The mark of a trident.
6.	Tirsoolee	.... Nagpooree	.... As above, only of a lighter weight.
7.	Pootleedar	.... Lucknow	.... Bearing image of a man.

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8.	Nuwabee or Muchlee Shaie	.... Ditto	.... Ditto of a fish.
9.	Bhopal Shaie	.... Bhopal	.... Impressed with the word Bhopal showing year and value.
10.	Katar Shaie	.... Boondee Kota	.... Bearing the impression of a dagger.
11.	Soobehdar Shaie	.... Jhansie	.... Ditto, ditto a horse.

With the exception of Bhopal Shaie, Katar Shaie, and Lushkuree, the inscriptions in the rest are very indistinct and irregular, and not readable.

J. V. STURT,
Assistant Commissioner

This communication gives a wealth of detail on the coins being manufactured and the places where they were produced. Specimens were enclosed. No illustrations are available with the documents but the identity of the pieces may be deduced from the descriptions given.

Pootlie Shahi — In the list supplied by the Cawnpore Magistrate reference is made to Pootleeshahee of Lucknow and Pureeshahee of Lucknow. The first was said to be a paisa with the name of Muhammad Ali, King of Awadh from A. H. 1253 to A. H. 1258, and the second a paisa of Wajid Ali, King of Awadh from A. H. 1263 to A. H. 1272. The list given by Mr. Sturt describes a pootledar paisa, of Lucknow, bearing the image of a man. From these rather sparse descriptions it may reasonably be deduced that the *Pootlie Shahi* was the Awadh paisa of either Muhammad Ali or Wajid Ali. Both have on the obverse the state coat of arms the supporters of which could roughly be described as the image of a man. Prinsep does not list a copper coin of any of the above names.

Nuwabee or Muchlee Shaie — These appear in the Cawnpore Magistrates list as Muchleeshahee and old Muchleeshahee of Lucknow—old coin of Lucknow. In Mr. Sturt's list they are said to bear the

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image of a fish. This coin is undoubtedly the paisa issued by the Nawab Wazirs of Awadh from about 1784 until 1819, in the same style as the well known *muchhlidar* rupees of year 26, struck at Lucknow. Further confirmation is provided by Prinsep, who refers to the *Machhlisahi* in his list as the Lucknow old' with a weight of 195 grains.

Tirsoolee — This was apparently a former coin of Nagpur. As there were a number of copper coins bearing the mark of a triśula or trident in the Central India district, this piece cannot be positively identified but it is said to be of a lighter weight than the following piece.

Bala Shaie — This obviously refers to the copper coin originally introduced by Balaji Rao Pundit, the Peshwa's officer at Garrah Mandla in the late 18th century. It was minted at a number of other mints including Kalpi and Kunch in Jaloun, and at Ravishnagar Sagur and Srinagar in Bundelkhand.

These four pieces are specifically mentioned as having been manufactured over two decades at places in the vicinity of Mau Ranipur and were still being made in 1871.

The letter also mentions that the eleven different types of copper coins given in the accompanying list were manufactured at Mau Ranipur prior to the district coming under the British.

Having, with one exception, accurately identified the coins which were the subject of extensive copying it is interesting to note the various places in which their manufacture is alleged to have been carried out. They are mentioned in a marginal note in the second paragraph of the above letter.

Tori Futtehpore, dependency of Orcha. — This place can be identified as Tori Fatehpur, which is some 12 miles north of Mau Ranipur. This small state was a feudatory of the Orchha chief and had an area of 36 square miles and a population of about 4,500. The Jagirdar bore the title of Rao Bahadur.

Bunkoree Orcha. — This is presumed to be the town of Orchha, which is about 30 miles west of Mau Ranipur, and was then in the Orchha State.

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Sursair Allypore. Alipura, as it was subsequently called, is about 8 miles east of Mau Ranipur. This small state had an area of 72 square miles and was also an appendage of the Orchha State. The Jagirdar was known as Rao.

Kurrara Gurrowlee. This place can possibly be identified as Garrauli, a district of 39 square miles, whose ruler had the title of Diwan Bahadur and who was a liege of the Maharajah of Orchha.

All these places were outside of British Territory, effectively surrounding and within a short distance of Mau Ranipur, which lay in a tongue of land extending into the Orchha state. Mau Ranipur appears to have been the center for the purchase and distribution of these manufactured coins and there are good reasons why this was so. Firstly, it appears to have been traditionally a place of manufacture for spurious money. Mr. Sturt's letter contains the information that prior to British rule coppers of every kind that he has described were made there. Mau Ranipur, prior to 1853, was in the Jhansi State until it lapsed to the British in November of that year. Presumably this trade was still carried on illegally in British territory but with some measures being put into effect to stop the trade thereafter, the various artificers moved out of British territory into the surrounding area controlled by the native chiefs, where they could continue their activities unhindered. Secondly, Mau Ranipur appears to have been a local centre of communications from which quantities of the spurious coin could more easily be distributed in all directions.

It appears to be conceded in the above letter that Maharajah of Orchha had authority to strike his own money, but the chiefs of Tori Fatehpur, Alipura and Garrauli had no such right. Orchha certainly produced coins during the latter part of the 18th century during the reign of Maharaja Vikramajit Mahendra and according to the dates appearnig on the well known *Gajashahi* rupees produced them for the greater part of the 19th century. It seems to have ceased production in the 1870's.

Having regard to the nature of the copper pieces that were being made, it would appear that no official sanction was needed to coin these for they were all coins of States that had ceased to exist. They had no fixed value against any known denomination but appear to have been worth merely their weight in copper at the current price for this metal.

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By definition they appear to have been nothing more than tokens, which could be used for buying commodities or exchanged for silver at the current rate for copper metal.

Although the Orchha State appears not to have authorised or licensed the manufacture of these old coins, it seems to have levied a duty on the manufacturer according to the amount that he struck.

The writer's remarks regarding the *chikna pysa* from the Banda District are interesting inasmuch as he says that they are not stamped with any particular mark and are made plain. Prinsep in his table of Copper Coins lists the *Chikna* at 240 grains and notes that it was the Madhusahi worn smooth, current throughout Banda. If it was the practice in Banda to use worn coins a natural progression would be to strike further supplies without any inscriptions at all, and it appears that this may have been the case.

Mr. Sturt's List of Copper Coin in Currency in this District need not bear any further relation to this paper but it may be of interest to identify the various pieces where possible.

Tope Shahi or Mogaolee	These were certainly coins of Sindhia and were generally known as *top shahi* as they bore the mark of a cannon. They were originally struck at Sheopur, Chanderi and Shadorah, but from the alternative name given it seems that they were also struck at Mangaoli in Gwalior State.
Maharaj Shaie	This coin may be identified as the common paisa from Gwalior which has the mark of a small dagger over the beginning of the word *jalus*.
Lushkuree or Tirsoolee or Guwaja Shaie	These names probably refer to the heavy weight paisa struck at the Lashkar mint in Gwalior. The predominant mark is a trident.
Lushkuree	From the description, this coin would appear to be the paisa from the Lashkar mint which was dated Samvat 1926
Bala Shaie Tirsoolee Pootledar Nuwabee or Muchlee Shaie	These have been referred to earlier.

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Bhopal Shaie	This was obviously a Bhopal paisa of contemporary date.
Katar Shaie	Unfortunately I am unable to trace a Bundi or Kotah copper coin of this period with the mark of a dagger. The Bundi coins which bore the mark of a *katar* appeared much later.
Soobehdar Shaie	A copper coin of Jhansi bearing the impression of a horse is not known.

Mr. Sturt followed this letter with another on the 17 January, 1871, but as this deals with silver coins it is hardly relevent to this paper.

Dated 17th January, 1871.

From—J. V. Sturt Esq., *Offg. Asstt., Commissioner.*

To—The Deputy Commissioner, Jhansie.

In continuation of my letter of the 8th instant, I beg to forward a list of silver coins in circulation in Mow, and others that are brought into the market now and then.

2. Only three descriptions are in currency in this district, viz., Nana Shaie, Guja Shaie, and Bala Shaie; and in transactions between the natives themselves, the two first are most commonly in use. The last is getting scarce, as its coinage is stopped since Jaloun came under British Government.

3. All the other descriptions of coin are not current; and when brought into the market, if genuine, sell at their estimated intrinsic value; if imitation, they are refused, and the owner is taken up by the Police.

4. The description mentioned by you, said to be Tori Futtehpore coin, some few of them had been smuggled into the market a short time back for the first time, but did not obtain circulation. Exactly it was a fraud and made for the purpose of cheating the ignorant people. The Chief of Tori Futtehpore repudiated having authorized any silver coinage, and I believe he has no authority to coin.

5. I omitted to mention the silver coins in my former letter, as with the exception of the three mentioned above, none of the others are current, and not any of the descriptions are permitted to be coined anywhere in the British or Native territories in the vicinity of Mow. Besides, as the Government Rupee finds its full value in the Native States, there is no

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demand for any other silver currency. And if it is desired to stop the currency of the Nana Shaie and Guja Shaie coins, it can be effected by buying them in and exhausting the supply. There is no profit in their coinage, and silver is not imported in this district in any quantity.

List of silver coins found in Mow.

No.	Name of Coins	Of what District or Government	Remarks.
1.	Nana Shaie	Jhansie	These are the only silver coins in currency in these parts.
2.	Guja Shaie	Tehree	The first two are of equal value.
3.	Bala Shaie	Jaloun and Koonch	The impression on these coins are the same as on the copper coins of the same name but better stamp. The Nana Shaie is supposed to have been coined at Jhansie lately by authority of the Soobah; Guja Shaie in only coined at Tehree, and Bala Shaie is not coined now.
4.	Seeree Neggree	Chirkharee and Chuttarpore	
5.	Bhopallee	Bhopal.	
6.	Ruttun Shaie	Bejawur	These and several other descriptions of silver coins come into the market now and then, but are not current coins, and sell at their intrinsic value simply if genuine.
7.	Bijabai	Ojun	
8.	Gwalior	Gwalior	
9.	Chandowree	Lushkur	
10.	Bijrangurree	Saurourah	
11.	Raja Shaie	Duttia	
12.	Muchlee Shaie	Lucknow	Their impressions are said to be the same as on the copper coins of the same name.
13.	Pootlee Shaie	Lucknow	
14.	Pungehdar ...	Lucknow	
15.	Shee Shaie ...	Lucknow	

J. V. STURT,
Assistant Commissioner

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A point of interest revealed in this letter is the mention of the Tori Futtehpore silver coin, probably a rupee. This piece was evidently a fabrication of base metal put into circulation in the Mow Ranipur district by unauthorised persons.

The list of silver coins is of some numismatic interest as it names three coins that were still current in British Territory and twelve others that could be found there.

The *Nana Shahi* was the name given to the rupee struck at Jhansi by Sindhia for a short period from 1865; so it is hardly surprising that it would still be circulating in adjoining territories in 1871. The *Gaja Shahi* was the rupee coined at Tehri for the Orchha State. The *Bala Shahi* rupee was the principal denomination of the Jaloun State and was struck at the towns of Kalpi and Kunch, although introduced much earlier at Garha Mandla by the Marathas. It is surprising that this coin was still in circulation at such a late date, although it must have been extensively copied by other mints.

Little can be said about the other coins mentioned although it may be useful to identify them more accurately.

No. 4 is probably a rupee issued by the Charkhari and Chhatarpur states, although the derivation of the name is obscure, probably *Srinagari* is meant.

No. 5 the rupee of Bhopal State.

No. 6 the Ratan Shahi of Bijawar State.

No. 7 is presumably the rupee of Baija Bai of Gwalior from the Ujjain mint.

No. 8 is the Gwalior rupee, previouly struck at Gwalior Fort.

No. 9 is the Chandori rupee from the Lashkar mint, Gwalior.

No. 10 is the Bajranggarh or Phulshahi rupee, also minted at Shadurah.

No. 11 is the Raja Shahi of Duttia State.

The remainder are rupees struck by the Nawabs and Kings of Awadh.

The Deputy Commissioner submitted Mr. Sturt's letter to the Commissioner on the 24th January, 1871, with the following.

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No. 22, dated 24th January, 1871.

From—G. L. Lang, Esq., Deputy Commr. of Jhansie,

To—The Commissioner of the Jhansie Division.

In answer to No. 448B, dated 10th November 1870, I have the honor to submit copy of a report by Mr. Sturt on the different kinds of pice in circulation in this district, and of a subsequent report called for by me on the silver coins that find their way into our markets.

2. It is a notorious fact that thousands of these pice are manufactured just across the border in foreign territory, and imported into our districts, and that a regular trade is driven therein. These pice, you will observe, are not merely lumps of copper, but coins bearing the stamp of a Government that has now passed away.

3. Similarly silver coins (some of which are of indubitably base metal) find their way into the market; notably the Tori Futtehpoor rupee, which, although repudiated by the rules of that State, is nevertheless a fact, and a result of the system now in force.

4. I cannot agree with Mr. Sturt in his views on the subject I think it most objectionable that metal should be coined and stamped in the petty States lying on the borders of our districts.

If the peope like to use lumps of copper and silver, well and good but why should they be allowed to coin and stamp metal ?

5. The right to coin is held to be a privilege of sovereignty, and why should such a right be conceded to the petty Chiefs of Tehree, Chirkaree, and other Bundelkhund States ?

6. But if it is considered politic to allow the Bundelkhund Chiefs to coin and stamp their own metal, surely this privilege should be limited to the manufacture of coin at mints established at the capital of the State under the express authority of the Government.

The Commissioner then on the 2nd February, referred to the political Agent, Bundelkhand, for information on the local coinage:

No. 60A, dated 2nd February, 1871.

From—R. M. Edwards, Esq., Offg. Commr, Jhansie Division,

To—The Political Agent, Bundelkhund.

To enable me to reply to a reference from the Government, North-Western Provinces, I have the honor to request that you will inform me if

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the Tehree and other Native States of Bundelkhund have the right of coining money; and if so, whether the manufacture is strictly confined to the capitals of these States, and worked through the servants of the State, or whether authority to manufacture copper or silver coin throughout their territories is sold by the Tehree and other Chiefs.

The Political Agent replied on the 10th February, 1871 :

No. 57A, dated 10th February, 1871.

From—J. P. Stratton, Esq., *Political Agent, Bundelkhund,*

To—The Commissioner of the Jhansie Division.

In reply to your No. 60A, dated 2nd instant, I beg to say that the only recognised currencies minted in Bundelkhund west of the Dussan were those of Orcha or Tehree, Duttia, Jhansie, and Jaloun.

The last two States are now British districts.

2. Between silver and copper money there appears to be in native estimation a much greater difference than in ours, for while silver coinage has usually been kept strictly as a State monopoly, copper has too often been left to be dealt with as if it were scarcely coin, or at least not so according to our stricter views regarding currency matters, but rather as an article that might under certain restrictions of permission and duty be manufactured by others than the State and elsewhere than at the Capital, and like any other bazar article of commerce liable to variations of bazar rates per rupee rather than as itself of any standard value.

These laxer views regarding copper mintage are not confined to Bundelkhund, as I have found them also in Western India.

3. While those were the old ideas and frequent practice regarding copper money, there can be no doubt that they admitted of what we consider gross abuses that are at the present time highly objectionable.

4. The principles on this point now communicated to the States of this Agency, for their guidance are, that any State entitled to have a mint should not permit coinage elsewhere than at head-quarters, or by others than its own officials, or of other currency than that of its own territory; and that a State having no coinage of its own can have no right to permit outsiders to coin anything within its limits, even if the operation

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include merely what the natives consider the innocent manufacture of dumpy copper pice.

This letter is hardly the most informative. In 1871 the only state in Bundelkhand coining its own money was Orchha. The mint at Dattia closed sometime prior to 1857. Jhansi stopped coining in 1818 until the mint in the city was revived by Sindhia in 1865, whereupon it ceased soon after 1867. Jaloun lapsed to the British in 1840 and presumably issued no coins thereafter.

The information given in paragraph 2 seems to be more the personal views of the writer gained from experience rather than an expression of facts. It is well known that the minting of native copper coins was frequently undertaken by bankers, monopolists and artificers under licence from the state, although this was never permitted in the case of silver coin.

Apparently the political Agent made representations to the States in his agency deprecating the practice, although he seems intentionally vague in replying to the questions posed.

On the 16th February, 1871, the Officiating Commissioner of the Jhansi division communicated his findings to the Secretary of the Government of the North West provinces and summarized the facts. In paragraphs 8 and 9 he suggests that the chiefs with authority to strike their own coin should be instructed to confine their manufacture to the official mints of the territories.

No. 74A, dated 16th February, 1871

From—R. M. EDWARDS, Esq., *Offg. Commr. of the Jhansie Division,*

To—The Offg. Secretary to the Government, N. W. Provinces.

With reference to your letter No. 1404A, dated 5th November last, I have the honor to forward specimens of the copper coins reported on by my predecessor in his No. 408 of 6th October last.

2. The localities where the coin is now chiefly manufactured are said to be—

Tori Futtehpore (or dependency of Orcha),
Buncoree Orcha,
Sursaie Allypore,
Kurrara Gurowlee.

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but prior to British rule they were all manufactured at Mow in the Jhansie District, and are at the present day procurable in large quantities in the Mow bazars.

3. I submit two reports on the subject, one relating to copper and the other to silver coin, by Mr. J. V. Sturt, Officiating Assistant Commissioner stationed at that place, together with a letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Jhansie to my address.

4. I also submit copies of my letter to the Political Agent, Bundelkhund, and of his reply just received.

5. By the latter it will be seen that Orcha or Tehree and Duttia are the only Native States west of the Dussan river which have authority to coin money.

6. It does not appear that the principles communicated for their guidance in mint transactions are adhered to by these States Dr. Stratton has scarcely answered my questions, but it may, I think, be gathered from his letter that copper coin at all events is manufactured elsewhere than at the capital, and by other than State servants, and that there is no restriction save a duty on the amount coined.

7. The Political Agent is no doubt correct in saying that in the Native States copper coin has no acknowledged standard value and rises or falls with the market rate of the metal. It is this very fact which is at the root of the evil, and which, in its objectionable results, interferes with and injuriously affects our copper currency.

8. To put a stop to indiscriminate manufacture of copper coin, for coin it must be deemed and not mere copper, as it has a recognised stamp, distinct and definite orders are necessary to the Chiefs of the Native State who now possess authority to coin. Communications pointing out the principles which ought to be followed will never prove sufficient. These principles are sure to be evaded. Vested interests will prove too strong for anything less powerful than the distinct order of the paramount power defining the rules which must be followed at such mints, as well as the consequences which will result from their non-observance.

9. State intervention is necessary to remedy the evil at present existing. If the Duttia and Orcha Chiefs be permitted to retain their power of coining money, the manufacture should be strictly confined to

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mints at their respective capitals, worked under the express authority and by the officials of those States.

This correspondence was duly passed to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, on the 24th March, 1871.

No. 457A, dated 24th March, 1871.

From—C. A. ELLIOTT, *Esq., Offg. Secy-to the Govt., North-Western Provinces,*

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, FOREIGN DEPT.

I am directed to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, having reference to the manufacture of copper coins in the Native States and Jagheers around Mow Raneepore in the Jhansie District.

From Commissioner, No. 408, dated 6th October.

To Commissioner, No. 1404A, dated 5th November.

From Commissioner, No. 74A, dated 16th February, with enclosures, including 10 specimens of coins.

2. It will be observed that the coins are not shown to be counterfeit; but manufacture is carried on by Chiefs who are believed not to have the right of coinage. His Excellency in Council may see fit to prohibit this practice; but in other respects there is, in His Honour's opinion, no further ground for interference.

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of Jhansie, in reply to his Nos. 74A and 97, dated respectively 16th February and 4th March.

The paper ultimately reached the Financial Department for consideration and the matter was resolved on the 8th February, 1872, as follows :

No. 912, dated 8th February, 1872

No. 3.] *RESOLUTION—By the Government of India,* FINANCIAL DEPT.
Read—

An endorsement from the Foreign Department, No. 442F, dated the 21st November 1871, forwarding copy of a correspondence received from the Government, North-Western Provinces, having reference to the manufacture of copper coin in the Native States and Jagheers around Mow Raneepore in the Jhansie District.

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RESOLUTION—The Governor General in Council observes from the correspondence sumitted that, in October 1870, the Officiating Commissioner of the Jhansie Division brought to the notice of the Government of the North-Western Provinces that a large quantity of copper coin, made chiefly in imitation of an old Lucknow coin, had lately found its way into the Central Provinces, and that several other native coins had also been imitated and their counterfeits circulated.

2. It appears that Mow Raneepore is the great mart for a purchase of such coins, and that, in and around Mow itself, their manufacture has been constantly carried on, but that as this town is in British territory, and as the practice is illegal, measures have been taken to stop it.

3. In regard, however, to Native States, the Commissioner of Jhansie urged that intervention was necessary, especially with respect to the Chief of Tehree (Orcha), inasmuch as it was his practice to give or "probably to sell" licenses to coin to numerous dealers in, and makers of, coin in his territory. The Commissioner quoted Sections 230, 17, and 15 of the Penal Code, relative to coining, and stated that, under the existing law, the practice could not be stopped.

4. The Commissioner was, therefore, of opinion that, unless the Tehree and other Chiefs could be brought to refrain from the practice described, British coinage would suffer, loss would be sustained by Government, and trade would be injured; and he considered that the best plan would be to enact that all coin not of any recognised coinage is contraband, and that its possessor, from the mere fact of being its possessor, is liable to punishment, and he has accordingly suggested to the Legislative Department the addition of a clause to the Penal Code to the following effect : "That whoever has in his possession copper coin not impressed with a stamp recognised by the British Government shall be liable to forfeiture of the coin, and punishment, with imprisonment of either kind, for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine."

5. Further enquiry showed that the copper coins specified in the margin had been extensively coined at—

1. Pootlee Shaie, } Lucknow.
2. Nowabee or Muchlee Shaie, } Lucknow.
3. Tirsoolee of Nagpore,
4. Bala Shaie of Jaloun,

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1. Tori Futtehpore (dependency of Orcha).
2. Buncoree Orcha.
3. Sursair Allypore.
4. Kurrara Gurowlee.

for the last 20 years or more, and that prior to British rule, each kind, it was supposed, had been made at Mow itself.

6 The Assistant Commissioner of Jhansie, in reporting on this matter, stated that these copper coins, which are mere lumps of copper, some of which bear a stamp, sell merely for the intrinsic value of the metal, and that the price varies with the rise and fall in the market value of copper, adding "that the great difficulty in the circulation of Government pice in this district is principally owing to the fact that, in the Native States, the value of our currency is not recognised, and, in common transactions with these districts, our subjects cannot obtain its full value.

"The regulation price of Government pice is three times the intrinsic value of copper at its present market rate."

7. Enquiry has also shown that, while some silver coins are found current in the Jhansie District, none are coined anywhere in the British or Native territories in the vicinity of Mow, and that as the Government Rupee passes for its full value in the Native States, there is no demand for any other silver currency

8. With respect, however, to copper, it is different; for copper coins, it appears, are manufactured, contrary to the orders passed by the Government of India in October 1868, elsewhere than at the capitals of Native States, and by other than State servants, and there is no restriction save a duty on the amount coined.

9. With these facts before him, the Governor General in Council is of opinion that the flaw in the Indian Penal Code, which has now been brought to light, should be remedied, and that the Legislative Department should consider the expediency of amending the Code, so that penalties may attach to the unauthorised manufacture of any coin, whether issued by the British or any foreign Government. For this purpose, a copy of these papers should be sent to the Legislative Department.

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10. But His Excellency in Council considers that it would be too arbitrary, and would cause grave hardship to innocent people, to adopt the suggestion of the Commissioner of Jhansie, and make it a criminal offence to accept or be in possession of any coin not recognised by the British Government. Nor does His Excellency in Council see how the Government can probibit, under penalties, the manufacture, even within British territory, of pieces of copper which are unmarked or marked with some device never used or claimed by any Government, in India or elsewhere. Still less does His Excellency in Council see how the British Government can insist upon Native States suppressing the manufacture of such tokens. They are not, of course, legal tender, and are never accepted by the British Government; but if, notwithstanding this disability, and notwithstanding the superior advantage which the Government coin possesses in being legal tender, they still circulate more freely than the Government coin, it is, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, a proof that the former are considered by the people to be better suited for their daily transactions than the latter, a prejudice which cannot be removed by any interference on the part of Government, but only in the course of time, as the people learn the superior advantages of a recognised legal tender coinage.

11. Meanwhile, His Excellency in Council thinks that every thing should bo done to make the Government coin as popular and useful as possible. One important means to this end is to permit Government copper coin to be tendered to any amount in payment of Government demands. This privilege was conceded in Resolution No. 959, dated the 31st May 1869, as a corrective of the long continued mistaken policy of forcing the circulation of copper coins by allowing discount to vendors and others, and it will not at present be withdrawn. But in order to ascertain the effect of that concession, the Comptroller General should report—

1st.—How much copper has been paid in under that Resolution at each Treasury

2ndly.—How much has been issued at each Treasury and sub-Treasury in exchange for silver under paragraph 3 of that Resolution, and

3rdly.—Whether care is taken to keep every sub-Treasury always supplied with copper for free distribution.

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Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Foreign Department, with a remark that, when the Penal Code is amended in accordance with the views above expressed, the Foreign Department might rightly insist upon the suppression of all improper-coinage in Native States as well.

Ordered also, that a copy of this Resolution, together with a copy of the papers read in the preamble, be sent to the Legislative Department for the purpose indicated in paragraph 9.

Ordered further, that a copy of the Resolution be sent to the Comptroller General for a report on the points stated in the final paragraph.

The contents of the resolution are largely self explanatory and the first seven paragraphs are merely a recapitulation of the facts. Comment may be made on some points however.

In paragraph 8 mention is made of an order passed by the Government of India in October, 1868, prohibiting the manufacture of copper coins elsewhere than at the capitals of native states. The effect of this order, if only partially obeyed, must have been to considerably reduce, if not completely halt, the manufacture of coins under licence by sonars and monopolists and great many of these people must have been thrown out of employment.

One case of the effect of this order may be cited in the instance of the Gwalior State, which, in Samvat 1926 (1869 A. D.) introduced a new paisa which appears to have been struck exclusively in the Durbar mint at Lashkar. It is apparent however that coining of copper was still carried on for a number of years after 1868, particularly at mints which were situated some distance from the state capital or in a detached pargana.

It is evident in paragraph 10 that the authorities recognised the copies for what they were; tokens issued by private persons for the purposes of trade. They served a similar purpose to the private tokens struck by various tradesmen in Great Britain at periods during the 17th, late 18th and early 19th centuries.

There was, at the time, no legislation in British India which prohibited the making of copies of extinct coins but it was thought, with some

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wisdom, that to pass a law making mere possession a criminal offence would be too oppressive. It will have been noticed, however, that in the main the manufacture of these pieces was carried on outside of British territory.

The reason for the manufacture and the widespread use of the copies as token coinage was primarily the extreme shortage of Government copper money, especially in the more remote areas. This shortage was mentioned by the Cawnpore Magistrate in 1869. A further reference was made by Sir Richard Temple, who wrote "The copper coinage appears to be redundant judging from the large accumulation of pice in the Government Treasuries but the subject is receiving careful consideration.... British currency has been introduced into Cooch Behar and is being gradually introduced into the States of Bundelcund in suppression of the native currency."[1]

The Government copper coinage of the time was $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna, $\frac{1}{2}$ pice $\frac{1}{12}$ anna of 1862. Doubtless its distribution throughout India was slow, largely because of poor communications, which greatly improved with the extension of the railways. It was also in many areas an entirely alien currency and not readily acceptable by the general populace, who had from time immemorial used with the greatest convenience the hand made copper coin of their particular area. As the Resolution admits, the hand struck tokens were deemed better suited for the day to day purposes of the people than the unfamiliar copper coins of several denominations issued by the Government.

One further piece of information is given which indicates a probable reason why the native coppers continued in use in preference to the Government coin. The tokens could be sold for the intrinsic value of the metal and the number obtainable for a rupee depended entirely on the current price of copper. Thus a person holding copper tokens, against a similar number of Government pice, would possess a considerably larger weight of copper.

With the passing of time the Government measures for the introduction of their currency and their legislative remedies, which were doubt-

1. *Memorandum of the Financial Dept. of the Government of India*, 1864-1869; Prinsep, J., *Essays in Indian Antiquities and Useful Tables*, London, 1858.

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less promulgated in due course, had the desired effect. The striking of the tokens, replicas of coins of a past age, was gradually abandoned and such specimens that survive relegated to a position among the numismatic curiosities.[1]

Illustrations

(PL. VIII. 1-12)

Fig. 1. POOTLEE SHAHI. This is the well known paisa struck at Lucknow in the reign of Wajid Ali Shah (1846-1855 A. D.). This particular piece is dated A.H. 1266 = 1849 A.D. Weight : 12 grammes. Diameter : 22 mm. See also Valentine, p. 119, Nos. 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210 which appear to be original coins.

Figs. 2 & 3. Later copies of the *Pootlee Shahi*. This weight varies considerably but is generally between 11.2 and 11.8 grammes. Many varieties of these copies may be found, some being struck on old Mughal coins. See also Valentine, p. 119, Nos. 211, 212, 213, 214, 215 all of which appear to be later copies.

Figs. 4 & 5. NAWABEE or MUCHLEE SHAHI. Struck by the Nawab Wazirs of Awadh, firstly at Benares and later at Lucknow during the period 1786-1818 A.D. Weight : 12.7 grammes. Diameter : 19-20 mm. See also Valentine, p. 97, Nos. 57, 58, 59 and 60, and p. 115, No. 183, which all appear to be original coins.

Figs. 6, 7, 8. Later copies of the *Nawabee* or *Muchlee* Shahi. Weights generally between 11 and 12.3 grammes. Many varieties may be found but all show the fish as a prominent feature. See also Valentine, p. 115, Nos. 184, 185, 186, 187, 188 and 189, all of which I take to be later copies.

Fig. 9. I am unable to trace with any assurance a copper coin of Nagpur known as the *Tirsoolee* or with a similar name unless the coin referred to is the common paisa of Cuttack struck in the name of Ahmad Shah by the Bhonsle Rajahs. The piece illustrated is said to have circulated in the Nagpur district, but whether it is the coin referred to in the correspondence cannot be confirmed. This coin shows a trident and may well be a later copy. Weight : 9 grammes.

Fig. 10. *BALA SHAHEE*. Struck by the Rajahs of Jaloun, *c.* 1818-1840 A. D. apparently at Kunch. Weight : 9.9 grammes. Diameter : 23 mm. There is a larger coin of this type weighing 16.84 grammes. See also *IMC*, IV, plate XXV, No. 7.

Figs. 11 & 12. Copies of the *Bala Shahi*. Weight between 13.3 and 15.1 grammes. These coins are also found with many variations.

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I am indebted to Major F. Pridmore for his helpful comments and assistance in preparing this paper.

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A UNIQUE HARAPPA SEALING

P. K. AGRAWALA

An oblong sealing, found at Harappa (No. 649),[1] is unique for its outstanding bearing on the mother-goddess cult in the Indus religion. It is executed on the two sides, obverse and reverse, showing two connected scenes of a fertility myth. It was meant for a fertility charm is evident from the six pictographic signs forming exactly the same legend on both the sides, and which possibly are part of a hymn for increase of production. There appears a nude woman at the right extremity of the obverse side. She is shown in a curious posture, upside down with legs apart and giving birth to a plant issued out of the womb in a manner of the natural growth of plantation from the bowels of the Mother Earth. At the extreme left, there is a curious pair of animal-like figures standing face to face and perhaps engaged in a wild dance. They are regarded as animal genii[2], tigers[3], or pigs.[4] But it is unlikely that these represented any actual creatures. They should, however, more convincingly be identified as human beings guised like beasts, perhaps wearing a tiger's skin for a ritualistic dance performed in honour of the deity.

On the reverse, a female appears seated on the ground with her legs placed forward. Her arms are raised as if in alarm or supplication, and the hair dishevelled in a wild manner presents a queer situation. In front of her, there stands a man armed with objects to be identified as a sickle-shaped weapon (or sword) and a ring[5] (presumably sacred to the goddess). According to Sir John Marshall, the 'scene is intended to portray a human sacrifice connected with the Earth Goddess depicted on the other side with whom we must also associate the two genii,' whom he regards to be ministrants of the deity.[6]

1. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Delhi, 1940, p. 42, pl. XCIII, No. 304.
2. John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931, p. 52.
3. Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
4. M C. P. Srivastava, "A fresh study of an Indus Valley Sealing," *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. IV, part I, Patna, 1964-65, p. 59.
5. Vats (p. 42) takes it to be a shield. But if it shows a human sacrifice, the shield has no relevance whatever in the representation.
6. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

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This terracotta sealing is obviously a magic tablet appertaining to the fertility ritual. The significance of the scene on both faces appears to have been in the representation of the actual ritual, no doubt orgiastic in character, of which certain details can be made out from the depiction.

First should come the "Woman Sacrifice." It was performed with due ceremony to the Great Goddess represented by the "Ring", here seen either held by the performer in his left hand, or just placed on the ground. We do not know whether the human sacrifice did take place in reality or was only ceremonially observed as a vestige of the older tradition. From the depiction it is not difficult to infer that the artist has left the action of the sacrificer rather in a dramatic state of incompletion. If he had intended to depict an actual sacrifice taking place, he might have shown the woman as beheaded.

Second comes the inscription reading some charm or *mantra* to be recited next. Third is the dance, probably performed by a male and a female, the husband-wife pair, disguised like the animals favourite of the goddess. A ring-shaped cult object held by both of them may be significant, if the blurred details of this sealing permit us to identify it as such.

Next in order was performed ceremonial recitation. This is perhaps the possible meaning of the inscription. This all propitiated the great Earth Goddess. The birth of vegetation is symbolically depicted by her upside down body in the birth-giving posture.

On certain bronze pin-heads from Luristan (8th—7th cent. B. C.), there appears a nude female, obviously the great Iranian goddess, with analogous features. In one case, she is in fact seen seated with legs wide apart, and producing a human child.[1] The validity of such representations in the case of an archetypal feminine, a personification unquestionably of the Earth Goddess, cannot however be doubted.

Strangely enough, part of the above seal representation occurs on a prismatic seal, No. 14 from Mohenjo-daro,[2] engraved on three faces. On

1. Roman Ghirshman, *Persia : From the Origins to Alexander the Great*, London, 1964, fig. 57. Also figs. 58—63; and the shields with interesting depictions, figs. 87—90.
2. On Pl. CXVI (Marshall, *op. cit.*). Its line rendering is illustrated by Marshall on Pl. CXVIII, 10 a—c. Marshall describes it somewhat differently (see pp. 395·96).

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one of the faces (face C of Marshall's description), there appear two dancing animals round a tree in a manner not dissimilar to the above described specimen of its own kind. Next can be recognised, though uncertainly, the worn out blurred details of the "Woman Sacrifice" : lower portion of the seated lady is quite discernible, and the man somewhat inclined forward holds in his hands indistinct objects, supposedly a sword, etc. At the extreme right, a composite three-headed chiaera is visible, but proper significance of which cannot be made out in the present context. The other two sides show files of animals, both carnivores and herbivores, moving from left to right in a rather religious harmony.

Almost similar is the depiction on another prismatic sealing, with the details somewhat better preserved; on one of the faces, it shows identically the two rampant animals round a tree, the two human beings enacting the drama of the "Female Sacrifice", and at the end some blurred representation which cannot be, however, deciphered properly from the available specimen.[1]

One thing is convincingly clear that the animals flanking the tree are goats or deer, though in the case of Seal No. 649, the dancing figures are provided with long tails and appear strikingly like tigers. This fact and the other portrayals on the side faces of the prismatic sealings, take us farther into the unknown mysteries of Indus mythology, especially those appertaining to the fertility cults, which are proposed to be treated in their comparative analysis in a separate paper.

1. E. J. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, New Delhi, 1938, pl. XC, 13 (c).

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NEW PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM MANIPUR

CARLO VALDETTARO

(PL. IX)

During the monsoon of 1971 a gentleman from Agartala came to Calcutta and brought to a friend of mine[1] a parcel of jet-black chips of metal; there will have been some 50 to 60 pieces in all but the gentleman promised he would soon return with many more. As after 8 years he has not kept his promise, I have decided to publish the 9 coins which my friend most kindly allowed me to pick from the lot, before disposing of the rest.

After a simple cleaning in soapy water, I was delighted next morning to realise that I had been presented with a new type of PM coins, little gems in FdC condition, marked with 4 punches each, of a superior workmanship, the like of which I had never seen on any archaic coin in India. The impressions represented a sun, some sort of six-armed wheel (as on the Imperial, Magadhan PMs) and then elephants, tigers, birds from the jungly hinterland and boats, fish and shrimps of the sea from which even today derives a good part of the wealth and prosperity of the Bengali and neighbouring regions.

The flans, in good silver, have been cut from plates with sharp sheares, in irregular shapes varying from square to triangular or oval, with hardly any pointed angle; in the process of punching they have taken a slight concavity and some strong stroke shows through on the reverse with a roundish bulge; no countermark has been affixed to the coins which must have had a very short life in circulation.

The metrology is obvious as weights ranging from 1.7 to 1.9 grammes (i. e. 26 to 29 grains or 14 to 16 ratī) can only have been struck to the Ardha-Kārshāpaṇa standard (a denomination better known from literary sources than from actual specie).

1. As my friend desires his name not to appear in print, I respect his privacy and can only wish he may read here the renewed expression of my gratitude for this and other presents.

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With no details about the exact find-spot of the hoard and with the little information we have on the early history of the area,[1] it is practically impossible to attribute these coins to any known authority, though we may broadly connect them with the debased billon coins in the Asutosh Museum[2] with whom they share some of the symbols; we may further remark that the suns and six-armed symbols of the new coins reveal some latish Magadhan inspiration; the engravers of punches must have seen too many imperial coins to follow any particular prototype so that, at such a distance from the capital town, sun and wheel seem to have lost any political or constitutional significance,[3] to become purely ornamental motifs, as free variations on themes coming from afar.

Concluding : these rare coins, found in a region which is hardly generous in hoards, must have been the product of a smallish but artistically minded society, and have catered to the local needs of an amphibious area, where merchants coming down the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, temporarily halted and mingled with traders from overseas; riverine and sea navigation are known to have started in remote times[4] and deltaic ports -whether in Tāmralipti or Saptagrāma, Champā or Hajipur, Hoogly or Calcutta—have been a permanent commercial and human necessity.

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1. 'We do not know exactly when Aryanisation of Bengal took place', 'We have no definite or detailed knowledge of the system of administration in Bengal during the Maurya period. We do not even know whether it formed a Viceroyalty or was directly administered by the emperor'. Thus writes the greatest living authority on the history of Bengal, R. C. Majumdar at pp. 293 and 264 of his *History of Bengal*, Hindu period, 1971 Reprint.
2. See C. R. Choudhuri : *A Catalogue of Early Indian Coins in the Asutosh Museum*, Part I, pp. XXII, XXIII; Pls. III, VIII, X.
3. The most serious attempts to connect symbols of PM coins with political authorities or government servants can be found in P. L. Gupta's *Amaravati Hoard*, pp. 149 & ff and in D. D. Kosambi's *Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India*, pp. 146, 148, 158. M. Mitchiner's attributions of PMs to purely legendary rulers should be taken with caution; see his recent *Origins of Indian Coinage*, under the chapters of Magadhan and Kosalan coinage.
4. See D. D. Kosambi : *Ibid*, p. 90; by the time of the Jātakas overseas trade was soundly settled.

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Catalogue[1]

(286) (PL. IX)

Irregular shape. Sizes 20.6 × 16.2 mm. Weight 1.9 gm.

(A) Sun with radial and tangent rays;

(B) Six-armed symbol of three arrows alternately placed with three ovals; this is a very well known Magadhan symbol, but has here been modified by the insertion of 3 inedited dots between 4 of the arms;

(C) Elephant to left (overlapping sun);

(D) Tail-like object reminding '*Amarāvati*' symbols 220 and 221;

(287) (PL. IX)

Irregular trapeze. Max. diagonal 21.2 mm; Weight 1.95 mm.

(A) Sun with tangent rays, overlapping symbol D);

(B) Two arrows, one oval, two arrows and an oval around a central circlet (similar to '*Amarāvati*' n° 23);

(C) Tiger with outdrawn claws;

(D) Bird on a stand (a Garuda standard 'ante-litteram' ?).

(288) (PL. IX)

Oval. Max. dia. 20.1 mm. Weight 1.85 gm.

(A) Sun with tangent rays;

(B) Three arrows alternately placed with three circlets containing a dot (similar to '*Amarāvati*' n° 30);

(C) Elephant to right;

(D) Fish, apparently caught in some sort of hook.

(289) (PL. IX)

Roughly triangular. Max. dia. 17.8 mm. Weight 1.85 gm.

(A) Sun with curved rays;

(B) Six-armed symbol struck with broken punch, probably as B) of coin **288**;

(C) and (D) Elephant and fish as on coin **288**.

1. For simplicity sake, I am keeping, for each coin, the Accession number it has in my Collection.

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(290) (PL. IX)

Irregular shape. Max. dia. 20.5 mm. Weight 1.7 gm.

(A) Sun with tangent rays;

(B) *Three-armed* symbol, consisting of a central circlet, containing a dot, and surrounded by three arrows. The two barbs of each arrow end respectively with a small square or a round dot.

(C) Fish;

(D) A crustaceous animal, probably a shrimp.

(291) (PL IX)

Roundish. Max. dia. 19.8 mm. Weight 1.8 mm.

(A) Sun with tangent rays;

(B) Three arrows alternately placed with three squarish dots;

(C) Fish;

(D) Elephant to left.

(292) (PL. IX)

Squarish. Sizes 17.8 × 17.0 mm. Weight 1.9 gm

(A) Sun with tangent rays;

(B) Six-armed symbol, as on coin **291**, but surrounded by a circle:

(C) Two-masted ship;

(D) Bird, as on coin **287**.

(293) (PL. IX)

Rectangular. Sizes 16.2 × 19.9. Weight 1.9 gm

All symbols as on coin **292**.

(294) (PL. IX)

Oval. Max. dia. 22.4 mm. Weight 1 9 gm.

(A) Sun with slightly inclined rays; traces of a second sun, struck with the same punch, but partly out of flan;

(B) Three arrows alternately placed with three ovals, around a central circlet ('*Amarāvati*' n° 25);

(C) Wheel, with eight spokes;

(D) An obscure symbol, already seen on very early magadhan coins but of difficult interpretation, whether an anchor or a plow.

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A NEW COPPER COIN FROM PANDUSAR

D. HANDA

(**Pl. I**)

Pandusar, a small village situated about 20 miles south-west of Nohar in district Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan, has yielded quite some interesting and important coins.[1] Sometime back, I obtained through my friend Pt. Mauji Ram Bhardwaj of Nohar, another interesting coin from this site. It is described below :

AE, Rectangular,[2] 1.4 × 1.1 cm, 1.2 gm = 18.5 gr. approx.

Obverse : Deer (galloping ?) to left in a forest (?).[3]

Reverse : A huge (banyan ?) tree on right, traces of a palm-tree(?) on left. (**Pl. I. 6**)

This is a die-struck coin and is quite worn out. No such coin is hitherto known to us. Though in the absence of the legend it is a bit difficult to date the coin precisely yet the fabric, shape etc. suggest it to be a piece of *circa* third century B. C.[4] We have got no evidence to ascribe or connect this coin with any particular ruler or republic. It, however, seems to be a local issue. The light weight of this coin may indicate the low economic condition of the people of Pandusar then as now.

The depiction of the deer indicates the abundance and/or popularity of the animal in this area in the ancient period.[5] The engraver who prepared the dies for this coin, however, seems to be an adroit artist as can be judged from the depiction of the deer in an animated pose.

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1. For details see my papers : "Pāṇḍusara Se Prāpta Sikke", *Maruśrī*, Churu, December, 1973, pp. 7-13 and "Numismatic Evidence Of The Kshudrakas", *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 13-19.
2. With one rounded corner.
3. The coin being worn out, it is not very clear whether the symbols, besides the deer, represent trees and shrub or anything else.
4. It may be pointed out here that Pandusar has yielded a rectangular copper punchmarked coin also.
5. The animal still exists in the sandy wastes in this area, though not in abundance. We are not sure if deer was held sacred and venerated by the issuer of this coin or the people of this region then. Important, however, is the fact that the Yaudheyas, who later occupied the area, also adopted the deer device on a variety of their coins.

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AN INTERESTING VRISHNI SEALING FROM SUNET

MANMOHAN KUMAR

(Pl. VII)

The present paper deals with a terracotta sealing baked red, round in shape, diameter 4.95 cms. with a ractangle 3 cms x 3.5 cms, embossed inside. There is a groove behind the sealing. The sealing is divided into two parts by three dotted lines in the centre. There are dashes and dots which form smaller squares. In the upper portion of the sealing, there are a pillar surmounted by an animal, half-lion and half-elephant placed back to back (2) pestle (*musala*), (3) mace (*gadā*) and (4) wheel (*Sudarśanachakra*)

The lower portion contains in Brāhmī script an inscription in two lines as follows :

First line : *Sidham.... jaya*

Second line : *Pañcha-nāyakānaṁ* (**Pl. VII. 1**).

The sealing was found at Sunet, a village, 7 kms. from Ludhiana on the Ludhiana-Jagraon Road in Punjab. The ancient name of Sunet as known to Pāṇini is Saunetra.[1]

There are scanty references to the Vṛishṇis in literature. Alongwith the Andhakas in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*[2] and the *Arthaśāstra*[3], they are mentioned as a *saṅgha* (corporation). Andhaka and Vṛishṇi were two prominent sons of the Yādava prince, Sātvata. The names Sātvata and Vṛishṇi both are, therefore, used to indicate the same family. The complete genealogy of this dynasty is given in Purāṇas[4] and the Brāhmaṇas.[5]

1. Agarawala, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini* (1963), p. 74.
2. राजन्य बहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, 6.2.34.
3. R. Shama Shastri's translation, pp. 12-13.
4. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii, 70, 14-48; *Vāyū P.*, 95, 14-47; *Brahma P.*, 15, 1-30; *Harivaṁśa P.*, 37, 1969-99; *Matsya P.*, Chs. 43-44; *Padma P.*, V, 13, 1-30; *Liṅga P.*, 1, 68, 21-49; *Kūrma P.*, 1, 24, 1-32; *Vishṇu P.*, IV, 12; *Agni P.*, 274, 12-23; *Garuḍa P.*, 1, 139, 25-35; *Bhāgavata P.*, Sk. IX Ch. 23; *Mahābhārata* XIII, 147, 6833-34.
5. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* iii, 10, 9, 15; *Śatapatha B.*, III, 1, 1, 4; *Jaiminiya Upanishad B.*, 1, 6, 1.

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Nahusha, referred to more than once in the *Mahābhārata* and also in *Padma* and other Purāṇas, had several sons among whom Yati and Yayāti were prominent. Yayāti succeeded to the throne and had several sons, viz., Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru. All these five succeeded to the throne in the different parts of the kingdom and founded their lineages. Yadukula is the lineage founded by Yadu who is mentioned in the *Ṛig Veda*[1] occasionally with Turvasu.

However, the genealogy of the Vṛishṇi dynasty in the Purāṇas is confusing and it is difficult to trace the whole lineage. From the account of the Purāṇas, we can trace that Sātvata was the direct descendant of the line founded by Yadu and had several sons among whom Andhaka and Vṛishṇi were prominent.

Lord Kṛishṇa is said to have belonged to the Vṛishṇikula and is mentioned as Vārshaṇeya[2], a scion of the Vṛishṇi clan, in the *Mahābhārata.*[3] The Mora Well Inscription refers to the Vṛishṇi origin of the Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa.[4] The *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[5] describes Vāsudeva as a scion of the royal family of 'Upper Mathura', but does not mention anything about the name of the family. It is apparent, however, that Vṛishṇi family is indicated here. The Jain *Uttarādhyāyana sūtra* (Lecture XXII) states that Vāsudeva is a Kshatriya prince, and the twelfth Upānga deals with Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) Vāsudeva and Baladeva of the Vṛishṇi dynasty.[6] The unanimity of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist traditions would seem to indicate that Vāsudeva was really a scion of the Vṛishṇi or Sātvata royal family or a king of 'Upper Mathura' according to the *Ghaṭa Jātaka.*

Numismatic Evidence

A silver coin of the Vṛishṇi dynasty was published by Cunningham who assumed that it referred to the Rājā Vṛishṇi rather than the dynasty.[7] The coin was also published by Allan.[8] According to Allan,

1. 1, 108, 8.
2. Bhīshmaparvan, 25.41.
3. *Vṛishṇināṁ Vāsudevo'smi Pāṇḍavānāṁ Dhanañjayāḥ, Mahābhārata*, XII, 348, 6-8.
4. Chanda, R. P., *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 5, p. 166.
5. *The Jātakas*, Cowell's edition, Vol. IV, pp. 50-51.
6. Pusalkar, A. D., *Studies in the Epics & Purāṇas*, p. 52.
7. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 15.
8. *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in British Museum*, p. 281, Pl. XVI-5.

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this coin belongs to the first century B. C. Ten inscribed Vṛishṇi sealings have so far been published.[1] On these sealings pestle (*mūsala*), plough (*hala*), wheel (*chakra*) and conchshell (*śaṁkha*) are depicted.

Though the present sealing does not refer to the name of the Republic, the devices like pillar surmounted by an animal (half-lion, half-elephant) placed back to back, pestle, mace and wheel, which are found on the coin published by Cunningham and on the inscribed sealings published in *JNSI* (XXXV) giving the name of *Vṛishṇi-rājañya gaṇa*, leave no doubt about its identification. The devices found on the sealings have a definite religious bearing. The mace, conchshell and wheel are the famous attributes of Vishṇu. However, these are to be studied in association with other equally significant devices such as pestle which, together with plough, forms one of the well-known cognizances of Balarāma.[2]

The English translation of the legend found on the sealing is : '*Perfection has been attained*; *Victory to the five heroes*'. These *pañchanāyakas* or the five heroes are the same as the *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis. These five heroes are mentioned in the Mora Well Inscription[3], the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[4] and also in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[5] The Mora Well Inscription mentions the installation of the images of the *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis in the stone shrine. These five heroes were tentatively identified by Lüders with the 'five great heroes' of the Jaina religious chronicle, viz, Balarāma, Akrūra, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa and Vidūratha.[6] R. P. Chanda is of the opinion that these *pañchavīras* mentioned in the Mora Inscription refer to the images of the five Pāṇḍavas.[7] However, it has been conclusively proved by J. N. Banerjea that these five heroes really stand for Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha, all well-known and closely connected members of the Vṛishṇi dynasty. It is evident from the testimony of the

1. Omananda Saraswati, *JNSI*, XXXV (1973), pp. 95-97.
2. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as Seen in Bṛahatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, (1969), p. 171.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, pp. 1974.
4. *VP*, 97, 1-2.
5. सत्यप्रकृतयो देवाः पञ्चवीराः प्रकीर्तिता, (*Matsya*, 47.23).
6. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 93.
7. Chanda, R. P. *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

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Vāyu Purāṇa that these five Vṛishṇi heroes were real human beings and not the mythical ones.[1]

The Ghosundi stone inscription[2] *and the Nānāghāt Inscription*[3] of the queen Nāyanikā refer to the worship of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva. So, we can say that in the closing centuries of the pre-Christian age Vāsudeva became associated with his elder brother Saṁkarshaṇa-Baladeva in the Vaishṇava pantheon and the votaries worshipped the two gods together.[4]

The worship of the family members of Vāsudeva was a new feature of the Vaishṇava religion and was followed mainly by the Pāñcharātras. According to the Pāñcharātras, Vāsudeva formed together with them what is known as *Vyūha*, while Śāmba became a subordinate god. The Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* contains perhaps the earliest literary references to the Pañcharātras. Schrader remarks that the name came from the central dogma which was Pañcarātrasatra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as "five-fold self manifestation of God by means of his para, Vyāha, Vibhava, antaryāmin and arcā form."[5] The members of the Vṛishṇi family are given a philosophical colouring by the Pāñcharātras and it is said that while Vāsudeva is *paramātman*, Saṅkarshaṇa is *jīva* Pradyumna *manas*, and Anirudha *Ahaṁkāra* (*Vasudevo nāmā paramātmochyate Saṁkarshaṇo nāmā jīvāḥ, Pradyumn nāma manaḥ Aniruddho nāmāhaṅkārāḥ*).[6]

Thus it is evident from the literary and epigraphical evidences that the worship of the five Vṛishṇi heroes became current in the 1st cent. B. C. in the time of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa and continued at least upto the 3rd or 4th cent. A. D. as is evident from the present inscribed sealing.

The discovery of a number of sealings of the Vṛishṇis from Sunet suggests that they had a prinicipality here or some where in the nearby region. But in the 3rd and 4th century A. D., Sunet was a stronghold of the Yaudheyas. Thus a question arises as to what was the relation between the two tribal republics ? In the present state of our knowledge

1. *VP*, 97, 1-2.
2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 91-92.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 186 f.
4. Chattopadhyaya, S., *Evolution of Hindu Sects*, pp. 52-53.
5. Schrader, *Introduction of Pañcarātra sects*, (Madras, 1916), p. 25.
6. Chattopadhyaya, S., *Evolution of Hindu Sects*, p. 25.

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it is difficult to say anything authentically. However, the testimony of the texts shows that the sons of Yayāti were founders of great dynasties. Puru continued the main line and the Pauravas, the forerunners of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, sprang from him. Yadu was the founder of the Yādavas who included the Haihayas, Andhaka-Vṛishṇis, Sātvatas, etc. The lineage founded by Anu branched off into Yaudheyas, Sauvīras, Kaikayas; Druhyu's descendants spread into Mlechchha country; and Turvasu's lineage later merged into the Pauravas.[1] Thus a suggestion can be made that the Yaudheyas and the Vṛishṇis were the descendants of the same lineage. It is probable that the Vṛishṇis had established a confederation with the Yaudheyas and other republics for the final overthrow of the Kushaṇas.

1. Pusalkar, A. D., *Studies in Epics & Purāṇas of India*, p. LX.

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A NOTE ON SOME YAUDHEYA COINS

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Numerous Yaudheya copper coins, datable to the 3rd-4th century A. D., are considered as indicating Kushāṇa influence in type and style.[1] The posture of the standing deity on the reverse, with one hand on hip and the other held out, reminds us of that of Mao (and also of Mithra and of Helios) on several Kushāṇa copper pieces.[2] The appearance of Kārtikeya with his left hand on his hip and his right hand holding a spear and having a peacock on his left, as noticeable on the obverse of these Yaudheya pieces, has a general resemblance to that of Mahāsena on several Kushāṇa coins, where however he is shown as carrying a staff mounted by a bird.[3] The Yaudheya pieces in question have been found at or near Behat, Hansi, Kharkaudh, Sonpat, Jaijaivanti, Garhwal, etc.[4] Moulds of these coins were also found at Sunet near Ludhiana.[5] So these might have been minted in *inter alia* Eastern Punjab and Haryana (broadly included in the land of the five rivers).

Recent discoveries in certain areas of Indian Punjab reveal that the Yaudheyas sometimes restruck Kushāṇa copper pieces. On the reverse of one such piece the upper part of one of the varieties of the four-pronged Kushāṇa symbol can still be seen The "standing female deity" device of the Yaudheya coinage is struck over an uncertain coin-type on the reverse

1. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India*, p. CL.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. XL, nos. 1f; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, pl. VI, no. 1.
3. Compare J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, no. 2 with P. Gardner, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings in Bactria and India*, pl. XXVII, no. 10.
4. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. CL; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1961, vol. XXIII, pp. 384-86; 1962, vol. XXIV, p. 138. The legend on these coins refer to the victory of the *Yaudheya-gaṇa*. Moulds of coins referring or alluding to the victory of the Yaudheyas have been found at Sunet near Ludhiana (B. Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 32f; pl. IV, nos. 89-105).
5. See n. 4.

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of another piece. A close examination of these coins by naked eyes suggests that a few of them might have been tinged with gold, probably with the intention of getting them circulated as gold pieces. However, such a hypothesis should not be finally accepted until it is supported by a chemical analysis of a few of these coins.

Some Yaudheya coins carry devices on parts of obverse or reverse or both, which are clearly revetted to the blank. The circular line demarcating the original part of the blank from the added portion is clear on a few pieces. It appears that portions carrying obverse device and/or reverse device on Kushāṇa coins were sometimes stripped off. The resultant cavity or cavities was or were then filled up by adding fresh sheet or sheets of metal (or by pouring metal into them?). These "new blanks" were then slightly flattened out and struck with Yaudheya coin-devices [1] Since these "new coins" are lighter than Kushāṇa coins (of the later days of the Kushāṇa empire), we may perhaps guess that this process was used to be gone through probably to make the "new blank" conform to the weight standard adopted by the Yaudheyas, which was lighter than the weight standard of Kushāṇa copper coins.[2] The quantity of metal added might have been lighter in weight than the quantity of metal substracted.

Thus the Yaudheyas were not only influenced by the Kushāṇa coin-types. They actually re-struck Kushāṇa coins and re-used Kushāṇa coins as "blanks." A large number of Kushāṇa copper coins appear to have remained in circulation in the Punjab area even after the fall of the empire.

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1. It may be noted here that we know of a large number of Yaudheya coins produced by casting from moulds of Yaudheya coins have also been discovered (B. Sahni, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19 and 35-36). According to R. Burn, of the Yaudheya pieces in the British Museum about half seem to have been struck and the rest cast (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1936, vol. XI, p. 7; see also K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 255).
2. The re-struck and re-used coins discussed here belong to the collection of Mr. Hansraj Gupta of Karnal.

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SOME INTERESTING YAUDHEYA COINS FROM ASSANDH (HARYANA)

MANMOHAN KUMAR & H. R. GUPTA

(PL. I)

Assandh is an important town in Karnal District, 38 Kms. north-west of Karnal. It is situated in the historic Kurukshetra region on the banks of Chautang Nala (ancient River Dṛishadvatī). The coins published below belong to Shri Hans Raj Gupta of Karnal, an enthusastic coin collector.

The coins under study can broady be divided into two groups : (i) Coins of the Kushāṇas which were restruck by the Yaudheyas, and (ii) the imitation-Kushāṇa coins (so-called Puri Kushāṇa) restruck by the Yaudheyas.

Coin No. 1

Weight 11 gms; shape round; size 2.3 cms.

Obverse : Kārtikeya standing, holding spear in the right hand, left hand resting on the hip; peacock near his left foot and traces of Brahmi legend.

Reverse : Female deity walking to left with right hand raised and left hand resting on the hip while other symbols are not visible. (**PL. I. 1**)

Coin No. 2 : Same as No. 1.

One important thing about these coins is that on their reverse there is a patch of metal which can be removed from its original place (see photograph). When this small patch of metal is removed, we can see a blurred figure in the cavity so created. On Coin No. 1 this figure is similar to the one found on the obverse of Kushāṇa coins (Vāsudeva) i. e. King standing wearing long coat. On Coin No. 2 a figure of Śiva, reclining against Nandī, right hand raised and left hand resting on the hip, can be seen. There are also traces of legend.

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We interpret these coins as Kushana coins restruck by the Yaudheyas, with a technique not noticed hitherto. The coins of the Kushāṇas were first flattened in order to impress them with the Yaudheya die. But, before this it was necessary to convert the coins to the size and weight standard of the Yaudheya coins. For this the Yaudheyas used a small patch of metal. This piece was hammered along with the coin until it was fixed on the flan of the coin. It was then restruck with the die (**PL. I. 2-3**). This small piece of metal can be removed with the help of some sharp instrument. Similar coins were also found from Rahon in Punjab, but they have not been reported so far.

Coin No. 3

Weight 11 gms., Size 2.2 cms., Shape Round

Obverse : Kārtikeya standing holding spear in his right hand and the left hand resting on the hip; near the left foot a peacock. Brāhmī legend : *Yaudheya gaṇasya jaya dvi.*

Reverse : A female deity walking to left with right hand raised, left hand not visible. (**PL.I.4**)

If we rotate the coin upside down (from 12'O clock position to 6'O clock position) then another figure is clearly visible which is found on the so-called Puri Kushāna coins, i. e. figure of a man standing with left hand extended upwards pouring incense with the right hand.

This is a case of overstrike on the coins of Puri-Kushāṇa which were current not only in Orissa and other parts of the country but also in Haryana (a large hoard of Puri-Kushāṇa coins was found by Silk Ram of Kurukshetra University and a paper on these coins was read at the All India Oriental Conference held at Kurukshetra). Some Puri Kushāṇa coins are also reported from Thanesar mound.

The technique of restriking used on these coins shows that the Yaudheyas after overthrowing Later Kushāṇas or the so-called Puri-Kushāṇas utilised the prevalent currency for over striking it with there own type They devised this ingenious method to obviate the necessity for melting the existing coins and observing the complete process for minting coins.

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VĀYUVARMĀ, A HITHERTO UNKNOWN KING OF KAUSAMBI

(Pl. II)

A couple of years ago Mr. Jan Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands, sent photographs of some coins of his collection. One of these coins belonging to the early Indian indigenous issues, appears to be quite interesting and hence deserves notice of the students of Indian numismatics. I publish it here with the kind permission of Mr. Lingen.

Metal : Base silver, Shape : Round, Diameter : 16.5 mm., Weight : 174.5 grains.

Obverse : A female figure with her left hand resting on hip and the right hand extending over a six-arched hill in a queer manner. A *va*-like symbol is above and to the left of the hill symbol. To her left is a tree symbol, the bunches of leaves of which are indicated by three semi-circles joined with each other, three dots in the middle of the semi-circles and four pyramidal symbols below the tree are visible. All these, the female figure and the hill and the tree symbols, are placed above a wavy line. Above them is the legend in Brāhmī of the early first century A. D.: *Rājño Vāyuvarma(ṇa)*.

Reverse : Tree within railing with seven branches shown horizontally.

This side is corroded. **(Pl. II. 14)**

The exact findspot of the coin is unknown and it was obtained by Mr. Lingen from a dealer in New Delhi. As a result its precise attribution is not possible and the identity of its issuer is difficult. The name Vāyuvarmā reminds us of *Vāyudeva* of the Ayodhyā series of coins, but in respect of fabric, metal, type and metrology the Ayodhya specie are different from the present coin.[1] The name-ending *Varmā* is not altogether unknown to

1. Vāyudeva's coins bear a tree symbol, no doubt, but it is different in shape from that of the present piece. For Vāyudeva's coins, see Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, Ancient India, p. 131, pl. XVII. 8.

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students of our early numismatic history, some of the well-known instances being Rudravarmā of the Vemaka tribe and the king named Śuṅgavarmā of the Kausambī Janapada. But their coins are also different from the present piece.[1] One thing, however, appears to be certain from the word *Rājño* preceding the name of the ruler : the region from where the coin was issued had a monarchical form of government. And hence a conjecture may be hazarded that Vāyuvarmā, like Śuṅgavarmā, was a hitherto unknown king of ancient Kauśāmbī.

1. The tree on Śuṅgavarmā's coinage (see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXVII, pp. 188-89, pl. III. 5; XXV., p. 243, pl. I. 8) is also different in shape from that of the present specie. Rudravarmā's coin, which is of silver and now in the Lahore Museum carries on its obverse a bull and on the reverse an elephant.

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TWO UNPUBLISHED COINS OF VAÑGAPĀLA OF PAÑCHĀLA

KRISHNA MOHAN SHRIMALI

(PL. IV)

So far seven coins of Vaṅgapāla[1] of Pañchāla have been brought to light. A surface find from Ahichchhatra was published in one of the early issues of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*[2] Another of his coin, also found at Ahichchhatra and belonging to the B M. Vyas collection (Allahabad) was published in 1942.[3] Three coins[4] of this king were described by K. D. Bajpai in 1962. Of these, one was found at Bareilly and is now in the personal collection of Prof. Bajpai, while the other two are in Janeshwar Das Collection at Allahabad. Allan has published[5] the coin of one (Viśva?) pāla but Prof. K. D. Bajpai has rightly restored the legend as *Vagapālasa.*[6] One coin of Vaṅgapāla belonging to the Jhajjhar Museum, Haryana has also been recently published.[7] The Lucknow Museum also has one coin of this king (No. 12239) but it has not yet been published. Similarly, an unpublished coin of Vaṅgapāla was noted by us in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Both these unpublished coins throw important light on the course of events connected with the careers of Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta—the latter was already known from some of his coins, where his name figures on the reverse, while that of the former on the obverse. The significance of the Lucknow Museum coin (**Pl. IV. 8**) lies in

1. The name of this king is always spelt as 'Vagapālasa' on the coins. It can be argued that the *anusvāra* has become invisible because spellings like वंग (instead of वङ्ग) are quite usual on coins and older inscriptions. On the coins of Pañchāla king Śivanandi, too, the name is to be found invariably in the form of Śivanadisa——again it could be a case of a missing *anusvāra*, because *nandi* is also written as नंदि (instead of नन्दि).
2. Vol. II, pp. 115-117; III, p. 79 fn. 1.
3. *JNSI*, Vol. IV, pp. 19-20.
4. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, 1962, pp. 10-11.
5. *BMC*, pp. cxvii and 192, Pl. XXVII., 4; Cunningham read the legend as Viṣapālasa.
6. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, 1962, p. 12 fn. 2.
7. Svami Omananda Sarasvati, *Haryāṇe ke Prāchīna Mudrāṅka*, 1974, Pl. 480.6.

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the fact that so far Damagupta's coins showed only spoked wheel—either independently[1] or with taurine[2] on the reverse but on this specimen we get tree, which is generally associated with some of the coins of Vaṅgapāla.[3] The coin from the Ashmolean Museum (**Pl. IV. 9**) is still more important and is unique from the point of view of its obverse. So far it has been argued that the coins of Vaṅgapāla were counterstruck by Damagupta—this is based entirely on the basis of the above mentioned coins, which have the names of Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta on the obverse and reverse respectively. We, however, take them as joint issues of an early stage of their career. Soon they parted their ways because we have independent coins of both these kings. Ultimately, it seems that Vaṅgapāla was able to assert his supremacy for which we may seek some support from the Pabhosā inscription, where one Vaṅgapāla has been described as the king of Ahichchhatra.[4] It is in this context that the significance of the Ashmolean Museum coin comes in. The obverse clearly shows that Vaṅgapāla overstruck the coin of a king, whose name we read as *Da(magu)tasa*. The original obverse device also has the trace of the first Pañchāla symbol. The reverse again has both the so-called tree and wheel—the latter symbol being that of Damagupta. Thus we would like to sketch the stages of the events as fellows :

1. Vaṅgapāla + Damagupta,
2. both separately and finally
3. Vaṅgapāla alone.

There could be other explanations as well e. g. Damagupta and Vaṅgapāla were two names of the same king. Though theoretically not impossible, it seems highly improbable. One can also suggest yet another sequence of events, viz. 1. Damagupta, 2. Damagupta + Vaṅgapāla, and 3. Vaṅgapāla. We still think that the testimony of the Ashmolean Museum coin of Vaṅgapāla fits in better in the sequence suggested by us.

1. Cf. Lucknow Museum coin No. 10929.
2. K. D. Bajpai Collection, *JNSI*, Vol. XV, Pt. 1, 1953, pp. 43-44; Cf. also *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 115-117.
3. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, 1962, pp. 10-11.
4. *E.I.*, Vol. II, 1894, pp. 240-43; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (1965), pp. 95-97.

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The competing career of the two kings seems to be not unreasonable in the political climate of the times. On the palaeographic grounds as well as on the basis of the Pabhosā inscriptions[1] we would like to place these kings on the top of the list of Pañchāla kings and we have already shown elsewhere that the beginning of the Pañchāla coins cannot be placed before *c.* 150 B. C.[2] Since this was the period of political instability, the careers of both Vaṅgapāla and Damagupta could have easily passed through various vicissitudes. That the final triumph was that of Vaṅgapāla is perhaps the implication of a clay sealing, too, which was found at Ahichchhatra and now belongs to the Jhajjhar Museum, Haryana.[3]

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1. Regarding the date of these inscriptions, Führer assigns them to the second or first century B. C, (*E. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 240 ff.) and Bühler to *c.* 150 B. C. But D. C. Sircar *op. cit.*, p. 96) assigned them to the end of the first century B. C. because "the character have .... some peculiarities in common with the inscriptions of the Śakas of Mathura". Dani's assessment of the inscription (early first century A. D.) is not quite convincing because he has not studied it individually but after lumping it with the Ayodhya inscription of Dhana (deva) (Cf. A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, 1963, pp. 57-59, Pl. VIa and VIb.), which undoubtedly is a later composition. We think that at least the Pabhosā inscription No. I, which refers to one Bahasatimitra, should be dated somewhere between these extremes. If Bahasatimitra of this inscription is to be identified with Bṛihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī coins, as we are inclined to accept, then the record may be dated between *c.* 100-85 B. C. because the level from which these coins have been found at Kauśāmbī has *c.* 100 B. C. as its initial date (G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī* 1949-50, published as the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 74, 1969, p. 84). Since Bṛihaspatimitra II is to be placed between 100 and 85 B. C., Vaṅgapāla i. e. his maternal *great-grandfather* (not *grandfather* as A.S. Altekar believed in *JNSI*, Vol. IV, p. 19) can be placed in *c.* 150 B. C.——giving an average of 15 years for each generation, which does not seem to be unreasonable in view of the political instability referred to above.
2. Cf. our paper entitled "The chronological implications of the language and palaeography of Pañchāla coins" read at the 64th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India held at Ludhiana in 1976. Cf. *JNSI*, XXXIX, pp. 42-48.
3. Below the legend 'Vagapālasa' one can easily notice the famous so-called taurine symbol placed horizontally on this sealing, Cf. Omananda Sarasvati, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148, Pl. 285.

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A NOTE ON THE MANDAVAS

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, in his paper on "Two interesting coins in the Singhi Collection" published in an earlier number of this *Journal*,[1] has attributed one of the coins, because of the legend on it, to a people called Madavi or Madavikas. He has also referred to a similar coin of Madavikas which was published by the late Professor A. S. Altekar.[2] The provenance of both the coins unfortunately is unknown, and it is therefore extremely difficult to locate precisely the Madavis or the Madavikas. However, I would like to bring to the notice of scholars that a royal family with a very similar name was ruling over some parts of western Maharashtra in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Among the inscriptions in the Buddhist caves at Kuda, District Kolaba, Maharashtra there are no less than five epigraphs which record the grants of one Mandava family to the Buddhist establishment at the site.[3] They refer to one Mandava Khandapālita (Khaṇḍapālita) who was a *Mahābhoja*. Of these, two records (Inscription Nos. 1 and 8) refer to the gift of a Mandava prince (Mandava *kumāra*). Inscription No. 17 records the gift of a daughter of the Mandava family while the grant referred to in Inscription No. 23 was made when Velidata, son of Kochi, was a *Mahābhoja*. We have thus four Mandavas in these epigraphs as follows :

1. Mandava Khandapālita
2. Mandava Saḍageri Vijaya
3, Mandava Velidata
4. Mandava Kumāra

Of these four Mandavas, save Nos. 1 and 2, we do not know the relationship between Nos. 3 and 4 and also between the first two and the last two. But the fact that they were *Mahābhojas* or tributaries of some sovereign

1. Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. II (1976), pp. 55-59.
2. *JNSI*, IV (1942), pp. 21-22.
3. James Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions from Cave Temples of Western India*, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, V (Bombay, 1881), pp. 4-17.

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power to which unfortunately no allusion has been made in these inscriptions.

According to James Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji, Mandava may be either Skt. Māṇḍavya or Maṇḍapa. They further observe : "In the first case the epithet would characterise Khandapālita as a member of Brahmanical *gotra* or race; in the second, it might indicate that he was lord of a town called Maṇḍapa. This latter seems the preferable explanation as Maṇḍapa is a very common name for towns all over India."[1] It is, however, difficult to agree with Burgess and Indraji that the Mandavas were the lords of a town for they style themselves as *Mahābhoja*.[2]

The next important problem is that of dating the record. In this connection I would like to point out that almost all the Kuda inscriptions have been incised with great care and they constitute perhaps some of the finest examples of Brahmi calligraphy. The letters are well formed, rounded and are very neatly cut. The Kuda caves, according to some scholars, have to be dated to the beginning of the Christian era. Fergusson and Burgess are of the opinion that "they (that is, sculptures in cave VI at Kuda) bear a very striking resemblance to those in the front wall of the great caitya cave at Karli.....there seems little reason to doubt that they all belong to about the same age, and are not much later than the time when the Kuda caves were first excavated within the first century before the Christ."[3] H. Sarkar also states that "In all the archaeological records cave temple of Kuda appear to be the earliest remains of quadrilateral stupa shrines though its period of emergence might not have been far removed in point of time from the *griha-stupa* A-14 of the Kalwan monastery at Taxila, ascribable to the latter half of the first century A. D."[4] Some scholars, however, are inclined to ascribe the Kuda caves to a still earlier period.[5] The present writer is of the view that the caves at

1. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
2. The name of the Village near Kuda at present is Māndād which is certainly not derived from Maṇḍapa as suggested by Burgess and Indraji. It can be identified as the Mandagora, a port on the western coast referred to in the *Periplus*. See R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, (Calcutta, 1960), p. 305.
3. *Cave Temples of India*, (London, 1860), p. 208.
4. *Studies in the Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, (New Delhi, 1966), pp. 42-43.
5. K. V. Soundara Rajan, "Beginnings of the Temple Plan", *BPWM*, No. 6 (1957-58), p. 76.

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Kuda should be assigned, on the basis of evidence of their ground plans and arhitectural details, to *Circa* third century A. D.[1] This dating is also corroborated by the plaeography of the inscriptions which are characterised by cursive and elongated forms which are closely related to the Nagarjunikonda epigraphs. The Mandavas can therefore be taken to be ruling in the coastal districts of Maharashtra, more particularly the Kolabad and Ratnagiri districts, in the third century A. D. Although they were the *Mahābhojas*, they do not make any reference to their overlords. They could probably afford to do so because this was the time when the imperial power of the Sātavāhanas was on the decline, and the Ābhiras were making inroads into their territory. It was thus a period of stress and strain when there was no strong sovereign power in Maharashtra and naturally therefore the Mandavas did not feel it necessary to make a mention of their overlords.

To revert to the original problem : the coins of the Mandava (or Mandavika according to Altekar) have been dated, on palaeographical grounds, to *Circa* second century B. C. Even Altekar assigned his coin to *Circa* 200 B. C. and postulated that it was issued somewhere in Eran-Kausambi-Kanauj area. If the Mandavas are supposed to have been in Central India in second century B. C. it is not unlikely that they came to Maharashtra later around the beginning centuries of the Christian era in the service of the Sātavāhanas who may have conquered them at the end of first century A. D. under Gautamiputra Sātkarṇi. This may appear rather far fetched, but there are not a few instances of the valiant families being brought to Maharashtra by the Peshwas from Central India in the late mediaeval period. This is highly probable in view of the fact that the name of the family Mandava is extremely rare in the otherwise rich corpus of personal and family names in the ancient period. Moreover, the Māṇḍavyas referred to by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*[2] may also originally have belonged to this family; they may have migrated to north later from Central India.

1. "Evolution of the Buddhist Rock-cut Shrines of Western India", *Journal of Asiatic Soc.*, Bombay, Vols. 45-46 (1970-71), pp. 50-61.
2. These have been identified by A. M. Shastri with the Madavikas of the coins. See his *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, (Delhi, 1969), p. 89.

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A COIN OF [DA]MABHADRA FROM PAUNI

V. V. MIRASHI

Ajay Mitra Shastri has published two copper coins of a ruler of Vidarbha named Satyabhadra, obtained from the workshop of a coppersmith of Bhandara in the Diamond Jubilee Volume of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, pp. 263-267. When I read that article it reminded me of another coin, probably of the same royal family, which I published in this *Journal*, Vol. VI, pp. 9-10 more than three decades ago. It throws some further light on the history of Vidarbha in that period.

In 1935 some members of the then Madhyapranta Samshodhan Mandal (now known as Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal) made a research trip to Deoṭek where a large stone slab containing an inscription of the time of Aśoka was reported to be lying. On our way we halted for a night at Paunī in the Bhandara District. Next morning we went to see a stone slab which the people there told us about. It was lying in a pit. A mechanic sent by the Archaeological Department for taking estampages of inscriptions of the Kalachuri period for me was with us. We found that the slab contained an old inscription. It was copied by the mechanic. I published it later in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It recorded the establishment of a *pādukā-paṭṭa* by a king named Bhagadatta of the Bhāra family Some time later M. A. Suboor of the Central Museum, Nagpur, visited the place for removing the inscribed slab to the Museum. He then found two coins in the pit where the stone slab was lying. One of them was uninscribed, but the other, square in shape, had a legend on the obverse. As the coin was in a very bad state of preservation. I gave it for cleaning to a friend of the local Science College. Before doing so, however, I had made a tentative eye-copy of the legend on it. It had also been photographed by Suboor. Later, I came to know that the coin was lost by my aforementioned friend. However, I published the coin together with a plate of its obverse and reverse and the eye-copy which I had made tentatively, in this *Journal* as stated above.

Like the coins published by A. M. Shastri, this coin also is square in shape. Unlike the former coins, it has, however, the figure of a bull on

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the obverse. Unfortunately, the coin has been lost and the photographs of its obverse and reverse are indistinct. I had read its obverse legend as *ño Dimabhaa-*, which I took to mean that the coin was of a king named Dimabhāga. I am not sure of the correctness of that reading as I had no opportunity of reading it carefully. The *aksharas ma* and *bha* are, however, clear in the photograph of the obverse in Plate II, B, No. 9. In view of the legends on the coins published by Shastri, the *akshara* following *bha* may have been *da*. In that case the name of the king who issued it may have been something like *Damabhadra* or *Dimabhadra*. The loss of the coin is very much to be regretted.

The Bhadra dynasty to which Satyabhadra and [Da]mabhadra belonged was undoubtedly ruling over Vidarbha-probably over Eastern Vidarbha with its capital at Paunī. The Bhāra king Bhagadatta of the afore-mentioned Paunī inscription also probably belonged to it. Shastri places the date of Satyabhadra either before the rise of the Sātavāhanas or in the second century A. D. when their power was weakened by the rise of the Śaka Saṭraps. The second hypothesis is more likely; for we know little about the Sātavāhana rulers of that period. Sātavāhana rule over Vidarbha must have continued at least till the reign of Āpilaka, the eighth ruler in the Puraṇic list of the Āndhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) Kings, whose coin has been discovered in the Raigaḍh District to the east of Vidarbha. We have no records or coins of any of his successors till the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It is a dark period in the history of the Sātavāhanas. Bhagadatta, Satyabhadra and [Da]mabadra may have flourished in this period.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE RANJANGAON HOARD

RICHARD SALOMON

The Ranjangaon hoard of 1519 Western Kshatrapa coins reported on by Shobhana Gokhale in *JNSI* XXXVIII, pt. 1, pp. 27-37 is an extremely important discovery for this branch of numismatics. The hoard is one of the largest finds of Kshatrapa coins, and as Mrs. Gokhale points out yields several specimens with new or previously uncertain dates. Some of the dates noted by her, however, call for further comment, as follows :

(1) 143, Rudrasena I, Mahākshatrapa. This is, as stated by Mrs Gokhale, a previously unknown date. The date is completely clear in the accompanying plate (II. 1).

(2) 149, Dāmasena, Mahākshatrapa. This again is a new date and is clear in the plate (II. 2).

(3) 161, Vijayasena, Kshatrapa. The significance of this date was not noted by Mrs. Gokhale. Coins of Vijayasena as Kshatrapa in 161 were previously reported only as questionable dates in the Sarvania hoard (*ASI,AR*, 1913-14, p. 234). The Ranjangaon hoard has six specimens of this date, which can now be considered definite.

(4) 174, Vijayasena, Mahākshatrapa. The identification of this coin raises some serious doubts.[1] The latest previously known date of Vijayasena was 172, while Dāmajaḍaśrī III was known to be ruling as Mahākshatrapa from 173 on (and now, from 172 on; see below). Therefore, if the coin in question did in fact belong to Vijayasena, this would indicate a temporary return to rule by him after the accession of his brother Dāmajaḍaśrī III. But there is no reason to believe that such a fraternal struggle took place, as the four sons of Dāmasena—Vīradāman, Yaśodāman I, Vijayasena, and Dāmajaḍasrī III—ruled in the normal Scythian order of brother to brother succession.

Thus the attribution of this coin to Vijayasena is doubtful; and a look at the plate (II. 3) shows that the portion of the legend giving the ruler's name is almost illegible. The visible part of the legend reads :

.... (*Dāmasena*) *putra* (*sa*) *rajña mahākshatrapasa* ....

Only the barest traces of the rest of the letters remain, and it is impossible to tell what name they represent. Therefore, it is reasonable to

1. Such doubts were expressed by the editor in his note on p. 37

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assign this piece to Dāmajaḍaśrī III, son of Dāmasena, whose coins of the same date are well-known. There is no reason to attribute it to Vijayasena.

5. 172, Dāmajaḍaśrī III, Mahākshatrapa. As noted by Mrs. Gokhale, this was previously an uncertain date. The three coins of this date in the Ranjangaon hoard prove that Dāmajaḍaśrī III ascended to the Mahākshatrapa's throne during the year 172.

(6) 177, Rudrasena II, Mahākshatrapa. This is not, as claimed by Mrs. Gokhale, a new date. Coins of Rudrasena II dated 177 are reported in *ASWI* 1915, p. 29, and *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 236.

(7) 182, Rudrasena II, Mahākshatrapa. This also is wrongly claimed as a new date. This date is known from the Sarvania hoard (*ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 236).

(8) 187, Rudrasena II, Mahākshatrapa. The importancc of this date was not noted in the report. This was previously an uncertain date (Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, p. 143). As no less than 27 specimens of this date were found at Ranjangaon, it can now be considered definite.

(9) 192, Rudrasena II, Mahākshatrapa. This, as noted by Mrs. Gokhale, is an entirely new date. In the plate, however, (IV. 1) the 'tens' figure of the date is not very clear; it could be seen as the figure for 90, but there is room for doubt. I, therefore, consider this a questionable date.

Thus the Ranjangaon hoard has given us two entirely new dates, 143, and 149, confirmed three questionable dates, 161, 172, and 187, and provided one new questioneble date, 192. The other dates claimed, 177 and 182, are not really new, and the date 174 claimed for Vijayasena is very doubtful.[1]

On pp. 29-30 Mrs. Gokhale mentions the several coins with a counter-impression of the obverse design on the reverse. Such pieces are known as broackages, and as she notes are quite common among Western Kshatrapa coins. As remarked by the editor in his note on p. 30, they are produced by a failure to remove the struck coin from the anvil. The frequent occurrence of brockages may be a result of the great numbers in which Kshatrapa coins were issued, causing haste on the part of the minters.

The brief report of the Ranjangaon hoard shows that it is a major numismatic find. It is to be hoped that a full detailed report of it will be published shortly.

1. A complete up-to-date chronology of Western Kshatrapa coins by this author will appear in the *Memoirs of the American Numismatic Society*, XXII (1978).

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NEW HOARDS OF REPOUSSE GOLD COINS

BALCHANDRA JAIN

(PL. III)

Thin and round gold coins of repousse type are known from the ancient South Kosala region of Madhya Pradesh. The last coin of this type published in this *journal* (Vol. XXXIV, pp. 84-85) was that of the king *Prasannamātra* which is said to have come from Mahasamund in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. Recently, two new hoards of such coins have come to light from the Raipur and Durg districts of the State along with two coins in private possession. They are brought to the notice of the scholars here as under.

1. Two repousse gold coins of *Mahendrāditya* are with Shri Parasaram Soni of Raipur city. The coins are of usual type and said to have come from Mahasamund side in the Raipur district. It may be remembered that Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura, capital of South Kosala) is situated in the Mahasamund tahsil of the Raipur district. It is famous for its brick-temple built by queen Vāsaṭā, mother of Mahārāja Śivagupta Bālārjuna in the last quarter of the sixth century A. D.

2. Thirty-nine repousse gold coins of *Prasannamātra* of usual type were found in the year 1975 in village Riwan, near Arang in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. These coins are now in deposit in the MGM Museum of Raipur. The village of Arang is known for its Jaina temple of the Kalachuri period, several records belonging to fifth and sixth centuries A. D., and also for the discovery of the early punch-marked coins of South Kosala type.

3. On 31.8.77 when some labourers were working in a stone-quarry in village Kulia, P. S. Gurur, tahsil Balod of the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh, they found a small earthen pot containing thirty repousse gold coins and a piece of a chain made of gold. The discovery was reported to the police station at Gurur; the coins were seized the same day and were deposited in the office of the District Collector at Durg on 24.9.77. The coins were primarily inspected by Shri Salimuddin, Gallery

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Assistant of the MGM Museum, Raipur who also brought eight important coins including the unique ones to Jabalpur on 24.10.77 for my inspection. On examination, I found the hoard to be very interesting and therefore thought it proper to bring it to the immediate notice of the numismatists, pending publication of my detailed study of the problems connected with the contents of this important hoard.

As stated above, the hoard consists of 30 gold coins. They are all struck repousse, having symbols and legend on one side only, the reverse being blank. Twenty-five coins belong to *Mahendrāditya* who is already known from several hoards, but still a controversial figure. So far, his coins were found associated with those of Kramāditya and Prasannamātra but in the present hoard, coins of the Nala rulers are also found associated with the coins of Mahendrāditya. King Mahendrāditya is represented by 25 coins of which 24 are of known varieties with one line legend in closed box-headed script and an additional letter *ru* with or without cluster of seven dots below *ma* or *he* of the legend while one coin is of a quite different variety hitherto unknown. Besides minor change in the symbols flanking the figure of the winged Garuḍa, the two-line legend reading *Śrī-Mahendrā* in first line and *ditya* in second, shows letters of Gupta script of the fourth century A. D. The coin is somewhat smaller in size than other coins of the same king found in this hoard, and does not have any solitary letter or cluster of dots below the legend (**Pl. III. 1-3**).

The Nala kings are represented by two coins of *Bhavadatta* and one coin of *Arthapati* (**Pl- III. 5**). As usual these coins show the couchant *Nandin* to right in the upper half and the legend in the lower. The names of these kings end in the genitive case and the letters are of the box-headed variety.

The remaining two coins of the hoard are much more interesting as they bring to light two new kings who were not known so far from numismatic evidence. Both the coins have the couchant figure of Nandin to the left in the upper half portion above the line. The legend below the line, on one coin is *Stambha* (**Pl. III. 6**). The same on the other coin reads *Śrīnandanarāja* (**Pl. III. 4**). The characters are of box-headed variety. The first coin is smaller in size than the second and also lighter in weight. These two coins also may belong to the Nala rulers of south Kosala and

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Orissa. The Podagadha stone inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.) gives the name of a son of Bhavadatta whose name has been restored as Skandavarman by the editor of the record. The letters of that name are obliterated. It would be more interesting if they stood originally for Śrīstambhavarmman. A Kumārāmātya Mahārāja Nandan is known from the Amauna (district Gaya, Bihar) copper plate inscription of GE 232 (*Epi. Ind.*, X, pp. 49 ff.), but he would be too far to be identified with this Nandanaraja.

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THE COINS OF PURUGUPTA

NISAR AHMAD

(PL. VII)

J. Allan ascribes four gold coins of the British Museum, which are struck on the *suvarṇa* weight standard in the Archer type, to Purugupta. They are divided into two varieties on the basis of the presence and absence of the king's name. The variety *a* is marked by only one piece that belonged to the collection of Hoey. The variety *b* has three specimens. Allan reads the name of the issuer inscribed vertically under the left arm of the king on the coin of the variety *a* as Pura. But S. K. Saraswati refutes it. He points out that the first is drawn as closed top square with right vertical extended down and the Gupta *pa* is inscribed open at the top. The closed top prove it to be *Ba*; and the stroke, intended for *u-kāra*, makes it *Bu*. Again the second letter has an upward bend joined with the vertical and this cannot be read as *ra*.[2] R. Burn,[3] Jagannath,[4] N. N. Dasgupta[5] and B. P. Sinha[6] are not agreeable with this reading and they plead for the earlier. R. C Majumdar[7] and D. C. Sircar[8] are not certain. No doubt the second letter of the king's name of the British Museum coin is not exactly similar with the alphabet *dha* engraved on the two gold coins of Budhagupta reported in 1948;[9] but it can not be made out as *ra*. This discovery definitely proves the existence of the gold coins of Buddhagupta. So the British Museum coin has to be assigned to Budhagupta.

1. *BMC, GD*, pp. cii, 134-5.
2. *IC*, I, p. 692.
3. *ABIA*, 1935, X, p. 117.
4. *All India Oriental Conference*, 1946, p. 11.
5. *B. C. Law Volume*, I, pp. 617 ff.
6. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 12-13.
7. He arrived at the proposed new reading after examining the plaster cast of the coin but expressed that, "the question cannot be finally decided till clear specimens of this type of coins are available" *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 186, fn. 1.
8. Sircar once held that "Saraswati may be right in suggesting" the name Budha (*The Select Inscriptions*, 1942, p. 322 fn. 1 but later on he finds it "difficult to be sure on the point" (ibid., 1965, p. 330 fn. 2).
9. *JNSI*, XII, pl. X, 1-2.

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Smith published five heavy Archer type coins. Among them two were from Marsden collection; and of the remaining one each from the Townley, Alexander Grant and H. Rivett Carnac collections. He assigned them to Chandragupta II on account of their reverse legend *Vikrama* as it was his title. Rapson does not favour this attribution since, to him, these coins, except that of the Grant collection which was not seen by him, do not have the reverse legend *Srī Vikramāditya* and that the minting of the heavy coins did not began earlier than Skandagupta.[1] Apart from this we can also point out that the coins of Marsden and Townley collections actually belonged to Vainyagupta,[2] and only those of Alexander Grant and Rivett Carnac are similar to the specimens of variety *b* of the British Museum.

Of the coins of variety *b* of the British Museum, one was purchased by it in 1893; and the rest two (nos. 550 and 551) were found from H. Nelson Wright and R. Burn's collections, respectively. Allan ascribes them to Purugupta as, they, like the specimen of variety *a*, contain the reverse legend *Śrī Vikramaḥ* and are struck on the same weight standard. A. K. Narain finds their similarity in the general description of the obverse and reverse with one of the two gold coins of Budhagupta[5] acquired in 1948,[6] which is in the collection of the Banaras Hindu University. The British Museum coins have the circular legend, which, according to Allan begins with *Para* and terminates at *tya*. But Narain wrongly mentions that according to Allan "it starts with *Parama*." He also identifies *Parama* as the first part of the circular legend of Budhagupta's coins. Hence he attributes the British Museum coins to Budhagupta.[7] Altekar in support of Narain, refers to some of the coins of the Archer and Tiger Slayer types which are devoid of the king's name. So he also keeps them under Budhagupta, though he expresses the possibility of their "being issued by a hither-to-unknown Gupta emperor of the 5th or the early 6th century

1. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 82, variety B.
2. *BMC, GD*, p. 144 (Allan read the king's name as *Chandra* but it has been corrected as Vainya).
3. *NC*, 1891, pp. 56-57.
4. *BMC, GD*, p. cii.
5. *JNSI*, XII (II), p. 114.
6. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 275.
7. *JNSI*, XII (II), pp. 113-4.

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A. D.[1] B. P. Sinha once accepted the attribution proposed by Allan;[2] but later he assumes that they were struck by Chandragupta III or Budhagupta.[3] Gupta earlier believed in the assignment suggested by Narain[4] but subesquently he does not ascribe it to any one.[5] S. R. Goyal attributes them to Chandragupta III.[6]

Smith also catalogues five coins of the Indian Museum which have closeness with the British Museum coins in design, metal and weight, under Chandragupta II as variety *a* of class II. On the ground of the occurrence and non-occurrence of the king's name they are classified into two sub-varieties : sub-variety 1 has coin nos. 30-32 and sub-variety 2, nos. 33 and 34.[7] The Coin nos. 30 and 32 of the sub-variety 1 were struck by Chandragupta III[8] and Budhagupta, respectively. The issuer of the coin no. 31, at present, is unknown. Allan attributes the coins of sub-variety 2 (nos. 33 and 34) to Purugupta.[9] Sinha at one time accepted this attribution. Sometime back, we had suggested that they were coined by Chandragupta III.[10]

C. J. Brown registers three coins (nos. 137-139) of the State Museum, Lucknow, which are also devoid of king's name.[11] They are of the same type as those of the British Museum (variety *b*) and the Indian Museum (sub-variety 2). Brown, following Allan, puts them under Purugupta. Subsequent scholars do not discuss these coins because, perhaps they are not in their notice.

R. D. Banerjee also reports two coins of this type belonging to the collection of R. K. Jalan of Patna. To him, "the name Pura is very dis-

1. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 275-8.
2. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 41.
3. *Dynastic History of Magadha*, p. 45.
4. He writes that, "the classification of Budhagupta coins can only be made on the basis of existence and non-existence of *Budha* under the king's arm" (*JNSI*, XV [II], p. 194).
5. *The Imperial Guptas*, pp. 69 ff, 194-5, 346-49, 354 and 356.
6. *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 372.
7. *IMC*, I, pp. 106-7.
8. See my paper, 'Chandragupta III and His Coin', to be published else where.
9. *BMC*, *GD*, p. cii.
10. *JNSI*, XXVII (II), pp. 177 ff.
11. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Guptas Maukharis etc. in the Provincial Museum Lucknow.*

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tinct" on these coins.[1] Sinha once agreed to it.[2] P. L. Gupta examined these coins. He noticed only one coin of this type on whose envelop he found the word *Puraha* with a mark of interrogation. Now this coin (60-1165/4047) is in the National Museum, Delhi. We also had an opportunity to inspect it. This does not contain any name in field. Its circular legend commences at I O'clock and runs as *Pa-hataka* and terminates at *tya*. The character *Pa* cannot be considered as the initial letter of the name of Purugupta. It was the part of the circular legend. We can also mention here that no other coin of this type is known in the collection of Jalan.

Thus ten nameless gold coins of the Archer type, based on the *suvarṇa* standard are known. There are 3 in the British Museum, 2 in the Indian Museum, 3 in the State Museum and 1 in the National Museum. Their weights and measurement are as follows :

BM	550	142.7	grains	.9 inch
,,	551	141.4	,,	.95"
Burn's Collection Coin :—				.8"
IM	33	142.1	,,	.88"
,,	34	146.2	,,	.83"
SM	137	143.0	,,	.9"
,,	138	142.5	,,	.9"
,,	139	138.0	,,	.85"
NM 60.1165/4077		—		—

They have the circular legend on the obverse whose earlier part can be restored as *Parahatakara* after keeping in view all the coins together: The first character is clear on BM 550, 551 and NM 60.1165/4047; the alphabet *ha* is traceable on BM 550 and 551; and the subsequent letters *takara* can be made out from the coins of the Burn collection and the National Museum. This legend terminates at *tya*. They bear the legend on the reverse as *Śrī Vikramaḥ*.

These coins cannot be attributed to Chandragupta III as he had the epithat *Ādivikrama*. Even they can not be ascribed to Budhagupta, though they contain the circular legend beginning with *para* and the

1. *ABORI*, I, p. 75.
2. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 13.
3. *JNSI*, XV (II), pp. 193-94.
4. *BMC, GD*, p. 140.

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reverse legend *Śrī Vikrama*, due to four reasons. *Firstly*, these coins except two, weigh between 141.4 and 143.0 grains; of the two, one had its weight of 138.0 and another, 146.2 grains. Their average weight is 142.27 grains. But the coins of Budhagupta weigh between 144.5 and 145.8 grains with an average of 145 grains.[1] Two coins of Kumāragupta II are known and they have their weights as 139.5 and 143.0 grains with an average of 141.12 grains Knowing that weights were raised in the Gupta currency from reign to reign, these coins can not be grouped with the coins of Budhagupta since he flourished after Kumāragupta II; and, these coins, in weight, are nearer to those of Kumāragupta II than those of Budhagupta. *Secondly* they contain higher percentage of gold content than those of Budhagupta. BM 550, IM 33 and 34 have 77%, 65% and 72.07%, gold with an average of 73.39% whereas Hoey coin of Budhagupta has 70%. The fact is well known that the Guptas gradually reduced the gold contents of their coins. Hence the present coins can not be ascribed to Budhagupta whose coins had less gold. *Thirdly*, the representation of the lotus on these coins, too, are not very identical with that of the coins of Budhagupta (**Pl. VII. 6 and 7**). *Lastly*, we can recall the presence of certain characters between VIII and X O'clock on BM 551, in faint condition (**Pl.VII. 6 and 8**); which appear to be four; on the rest of the coins this portion of the circular legend is out off the flan. The letters of the BM 551 can be identified as *Puragup(ta)*.

The artistic appearance, weights and metal contents of these coins definitely prove that they were not struck by Budhagupta but some one else. They also suggest that they were coined in between Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta. If the present proposed reading on BM 551 is agreed upon, all the coins without the king's name in the field can be ascribed to Purugupta.

It would not be out of place to say that the attribution of some *suvarṇa* weight gold coins with the reverse legend *Śrī Prakāśāditya*, recently assigned to Purūgupta by Sinha[4] is far fatched.

The coins may be described as follows :

Obv. : King, standing to l., wearing coat and *dhoti* holding in l. hand bow at the top with string inside, and arrow in r. hand. *Garuḍa* standard behind the r. hand. Circular legend, beginning at I, *Parahatakara....Puragu(pta) (Vikramādi)tya*.

Rev. : Lakshmī, seated on lotus holding a noose in r. hand and a lotus in l.Symbol on l.Legend on r. *Śrī Vikramaḥ*. (**Pl.VII.6**)

1. See my paper, 'Budhagupta's Gold Coins' to be published elsewhere.
2. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 296.
3. *JNSI*, XX (II), p. 185, nos. 66 and 67.
4. *Dynastic History of Magadha*, pp. 9, 13.

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THE GOLD COINS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT : A REAPPRAISAL

CECELIA WITTMANN

(PL. III)

The present attribution of gold coins to the Chaulukya kingdom of medieval Gujarat (10th-14th centuries), although noted and discussed in a number of scholarly books and articles,[1] is of doubtful validity. Indeed, an analysis of the provenance of these coins, as well as their physical characteristics—legend, script style, metal, and weight shows that their attribution to the Chaulukyas cannot be correct.

The entire corpus of gold coins attributed to the Chaulukyas comprises three specimens none found within the territory that was under that kingdom's sovereignty. One, from the Punjab, bears a seated goddess on the obverse and the legend *Śrīmad-Kumārapāladeva* on the reverse. While Adris Banerji assigns this coin to the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A. D.).[2] Its provenance, as well as the fact that it is in all respects identical to coins confidently attributed to the Tomara kingdom of Ajmer and Delhi, indicates that Banerji's attribution cannot be correct.

The two other gold coins said to belong to the Chaulukya kingdom were found near Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh. They are about 2 cm. in diameter; weight 4.2 and 4.3 grams; and are unique early Indian coins in bearing an identical legend, *Śrī-Siddharājaḥ*, on both obverse and reverse and in having no type.[3] Figure 1 (**PL. III. 7**) contains a reproduction of the photographs of these coins published in the *Numismatic Supplement* of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,[4] along with my enlarged reconstruction of their legend.

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1. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi, 1969; U. P. Shah, "Coinage of the Early Chalukyas of Aṇahillavāḍa-Patan." *JNSI*, XVI, 239-42; L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India* (Delhi, 1965), p. 216.
2. "A Coin of Kumārapāla", *JNSI*, XXVI, 235-40.
3. R. Burns, "A New Medieval Gold Coin," *NS*, III, 51; Prayag Dayal, "Two Gold Coins of Siddharāja (Jayasimha)," *NS*, XLVII, 117-8.
4. *NS*, XLVII, 118.

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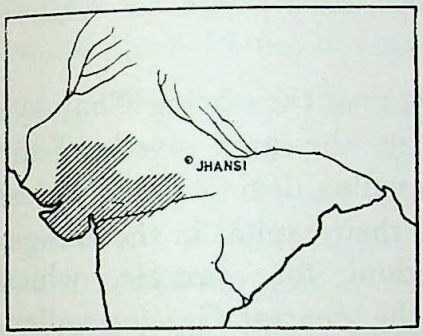
These two coins have been attributed to Jayasimha (*c.* 1094-1144 A. D.), called by his successors Siddharāja, "the perfect king." During his reign the Chaulukya kingdom attained its greatest extent, when it comprised Gujarat, parts of southern Rajasthan, and eastern Malwa. Jhansi district, however, the find spot of these coins, is far outside the territory known to have been subject to the Chaulukya kingdom. (See Map 1.)[1]



Map 1. The Chaulukya Kingdom and the provenace of the gold coin

Only speculative is the argument that the coins may have been carried by soldiers of the Chaulukya kingdom to Jhansi, the capital of the Chandella king Madanavarman (*c.* 1129-65 A. D.), an occasional ally of Jayasimha. Equally unsatisfactory is the explanation that merchants transported these gold coins from western to central India. Indeed, the fact that no similar coins have been found within the Chaulukya domains strongly suggests that these coins were issued by a kingdom that lay near Jhansi. The physical characteristics of the coins support this view.

Although these coins have been attributed to Jayasimha, it is significant that they do not, in fact bear his name. *Siddharājaḥ*, "perfect king," is merely his *biruda*, or epithet. Moreover, he is given this *biruda* primarily in the inscriptions of his successors; inscriptions of his own time generally use the epithet *Siddha-chakravartī*, "perfect emperor." The prevalence of the latter term in inscriptions made while Jayasimha was reigning indicates that he was not commonly referred to as Siddharāja in his lifetime. Therefore even if he had issued coins bearing his *biruda* an extremely unlikely occurrence these coins would have borne the legend *Siddhachakravartī*, not *Siddharājaḥ*. And they would certainly not have read, as do these two coins, *Śrī-Siddharājaḥ*, since the honorific *Śrī* indicates that the following word is a proper name, not simply a descriptive epithet. These facts indicate, then, that *Śrī Siddharājaḥ* was actual regnal name of the king who issued these coins.

1. This map shows the areas that contemporaneous inscriptions indicate were actually under the sovereignty of the Chaulukyas. It specifically excludes territories that were temporary conquests and were never incorporated into the kingdom's administration.

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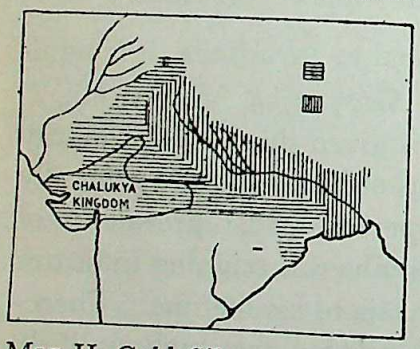
The script style of the coin legend furnishes a second indication that the Śrī Siddharājaḥ who issued these coins cannot be inentified with the Chaulukya king Jayasimha. The letters have the long, curved descenders similar to those in the inscriptions and coins of the Chandellas, Tomaras, and other medieval kingdoms located in the central Ganges valley between Delhi and Banaras. They are quite unlike the more chunky and angular letters found in contemporaneous inscriptions of western India.

Third, the metal of these coins argues against their being Chalukya issues. These two coins are of gold, which in the area north of the Narmada River was minted only in the Ganges valley during the medieval period. Moreover, only those kingdoms having their capital in the Ganges valley issued gold coins. The Tomara kingdom, for example, which comprised parts of eastern Rajasthan and the central Ganges valley, issued gold coins only after its capital was removed from Ajmer to Delhi in the 10th century.

Map 2 indicates the areas of northern India in which gold, silver, and copper coins were issued between the 5th and the 14th centuries. It shows clearly that, not only did the capital of the Chaulukya kingdom lay well within the silver and copper-minting region, but also that the territory of the kingdom comprised no area in which gold coins were issued.



Map II. Gold, Silver and Copper Currency Areas of Northern India, 5th–14th C.

Fourth, the weight of these two coins is a final indication that they could not have been issued by Jayasimha Chaulukya. Weighing 4.2 and 4.3 grams, they conform approximately to 4 grams, which was apparently the standard weight of the gold coins issued in the Ganges valley between the 11th and the 13th centuries. The contemporaneous coins of western India, however, conformed to a weight standard of about 3.2 grams.[1]

1. The so-called "Gadhaiya paise" of medieval western India weigh 4 grams. However, there is no indication that they were issued by the Chaulukyas, or were even contemporaneous with that kingdom, since they have been found principally in Rajasthan and Gujarat and are generally assigned to the period between the 8th and the 11th centuries.

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These differences in script style, metal, and weight cannot be resolved by the explanation that the gold coins were a regional issue of Jayasimha, and therefore had the characteristics of other coins issued in the area As already shown, these coins were found in an area that lay far outside the Chaulukya domain. Moreover, since no coins of any metal definitely assignable to the Chaulukyas have been found even within the area known to have been part of that kingdom,[1] it seems premature to propose the existence of regional issues.

These four factors, then, indicate that these two gold coins hitherto assigned to the Chaulukya kingdom of Gujarat should more properly be attributed to a kingdom situated in the area near Jhansi, their provenance. The fact that inscriptions and literary materials mention no king Śrī Siddharājaḥ as ruling in the area is no obstruction to such an attribution, for many kingdoms of early India are known only from their numismatic remains.

1. Thirteen small silver coins found at Pilwai Talaka Vijapura near Patan and at Vanthali and Junagadh in Saurāshtra have been assigned to the Chaulukyas (*JNSI*, XVI, pp. 283-4; *JNSI*, XVII, p. 113; *Proc. AIOC* (1933), p. 695), but the similarity of these coins to those of the Paramara king Vatsarāja makes this attribution uncertain.

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NEW FIND OF GAṄGA FANAMS

SNIGDHA TRIPATHY

(PL. VI)

Recently in the month of July, 1977 a hoard of 15 tiny gold pieces usually known as Gaṅga *fanams* have been discovered from the reserve forest of Chandakā situated at a distance of about 17 K. Ms from the new capital of Bhubaneswar. A number of female labourers found them while working in a stone quarry at the foot of the hill called Bhaṇḍārikhiā in the above forest. The coins were deposited in the Chandakā Police Station by one Yudhishṭhira Maṅgarāj, a resident of that locality. The stone quarry where the coins were discovered is situated on the Chandakā-Jatni Road at a distance of about 4 K. Ms from the Chandakā P. S. and about one Kilometre south to the ruins of the Buāligarh fort[1] within the forest at the foot of the Bhaṇḍārikhiā hill. The old fort of Buāligarh which is now covered with dense forest appears to belong to the period of the later Imperial Gaṅga kings of Orissa.

The coins are in a good state of preservation excepting two which have been cut by the local goldsmith to test their genuineness. These are apparently round in shape, some of them are slightly elongated due to striking of the die. Their sizes vary from 9 cm to 1 2 cm. and weights from .50 to .52 gms.

Obverse sides of all the coins bear religious symbols of *Sivaliṅgam*, couchant lion (?), conch shell, crescent and other minute symbols of religious importance. The symbol on the reverse as is usually noted in other Ganga *fanams* found in Orissa contains an Oriya letter *sa* like symbol and below it some numerical figures in early mediaeval characters. This *sa* like symbol is struck in the present pieces horizontally with its left face downwards and above it there are some legends written in Proto-Nagari scripts found in many mediaeval inscriptions of Orissa. The legend reads *Śrī Rāma*.

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1. A detailed account of the fort was published by Sri A. Das in the *OHRJ* xiv, pp. 1-8 ff.

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A large number of different varieties of *paṇams* or *fanams* as the European scholars call them, were current in mediaeval Southern India. Some scholars are of opinion that the Imperial Gaṅga rulers of Kaliṅga whose origin was in South India also issued a type of thin gold pieces which came to be known as Gaṅga *fanams*. These are found frequently in different parts of Orissa especially in the coastal regions and in the northern part of Andhra. They are also very often found in the Mahānadi river valley. There are at least 12 hoards of Gaṅga *fanams* discovered so far throughout Orissa and preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. All the hoards contain about 383 pieces. Some of these hoards have been published by earlier scholars.[1] Recent discoveries have thrown welcome light on the problems concerning these coins.

Early numismatists like Hultzsch, Hoernle and Smith who examined and interpreted the Gaṅga *fanams* hold the opinion that the symbol on the reverse just above the numerical symbol is *sa* which is a contraction for the word *Samvat* written in Proto-Oriya character. Other scholars who have followed this interpretation also hold that the numerical figures below this symbol are regnal years of the king or kings who issued these coins. The numbers were counted according to the Aṅka system of the Gaṅga rulers of Orissa.[2] There is doubt about the authenticity of these tiny gold pieces issued as coins by the rulers of Orissa. In fact, we have not yet come accross any other type of coins to lead us to suppose that Orissan kings till the end of the Gajapati period issued coins for currency purpose. Bigger coins of baser metals and cowries might have been in use for purchasing daily necessaries of life. The so-called Gaṅga *fanams* are so small that it is very difficult to handle them in day-to-day life. The Gaṅga kings might have issued these coins for temple offerings and for *Dakshiṇā* to Brahmins during religious ceremonies. They might have had separate minting places and establishment for minting these coins for the benifit of the people. To enable the rich and poor alike to use in religious ceremonies 1/8, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ denominations were minted. In

1. S. C. De had published an article on these Gaṅga *fanams* in the *JKHRS*. 1, pp. 367 ff. P. C. Rath also wrote an interesting paper with the title "Parimalagiri Hoard of the Gold coins of the Chauhān king Rāmadeva" in the *JNSI*, V, pp. 61-64 ff.
2. *JKHRS*, 1, pp. 367 ff.

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Orissa the fanams of 1/8 and 1/4 denominations are found mainly. In those days the popular belief was that *Dakshiṇā* should be paid in gold. Silver was considered inauspicious.

The obverse and reverse symbols of all the present coins closely resemble to those of the Parimalagiri hoard of the gold coins which were identified by P. C. Rath with the gold coins of the Chauhāna king Rāmadeva of Patna State.[1] But the theory propounded by Mr. Rath is baseless and the coins examined by him are, in fact, the so-called Gaṅga *fanams*. Besides, the numerical figures are also wrongly interpreted by him.[2] As regards the numerical symbols found on the present coins the highest number exhibited is 33. Of course, symbol 17 of Plate I shows that it is followed by a dot which may be taken as zero and may be interpreted as 170. But the dot is slightly smaller in comparision to the figure 17. All the 15 coins represent the numbers 2, 17, 18, 19, 25, 27, and 33.[3] The number 17 represents two coins, 170 = 1, 18 = 3, 19 = 3, 25 = 2, 27 = 1, 2 = 1 and 33 = 1. The forms of the numerals are found in many mediaeval inscriptions of Orissa, especially in the records of the Gaṅga kings. Some of these are derived from the Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals and others are of Proto-Nāgari origin. For Example the figures 15 and 19 resemble closely to the Telugu-Kannaḍa numbers of 13th-14th centuries A. D. The figures 2, 3, 8 are of Proto-Nāgari type which are found in many mediaeval records of Orissa. On the basis of the numerical symbols and palaeography available on the present coins they may be assigned to a date not much earlier than 14th century A. D. They are described in detail below and arranged according to the order of the numerals :

Description of Gaṅga *fanams* from the Chandakā Reserve Forest.

Sl. No.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
PL. VI. 1.	*Sivaliṅgam* and other symbols no. 6, 8, 9 and 10 of Plate II.	Symbol no. 13 of the Plate II and the numeral 2.
PL. VI. 2.	Seated lion (?) facing right with symbol nos. 1 and 2 of Plate II.	The legend *Śrī Rāma*, symbol no. 11 of Plate II and the numeral 17.

1. *JNSI*, V, pp. 61-64 ff.
2. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 80-84 ff.
3. Vide G. H. Ojha's *Prāchīnalipimālā* (in Hindi) Plates LXXV and LXXVI.

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PL. VI. 3.	Same as Sl. No. 2.	Same as Sl. No. 2.
PL. VI. 4.	—Do—	The legend *Śrī Rāma,* numeral 17 (0), the numbers are followed by a dot which looks like a zero, symbol no. 11 of Plate II.
PL. VI. 5.	—Do—	The legend *Srī Rāma,* Symbol no. 11 of Plate II and the numeral 18.
PL. VI. 6.	—Do—	Same as no. 5.
PL. VI. 7.	Symbols are not clear.	Same as no. 5.
PL VI. 8.	Same as Sl. No. 2.	Numeral 19, other symbols are same as Sl. no. 2.
PL. VI. 9.	—Do—	The letter *Rā* is visible, other symbols are same as Sl. no. 8.
PL. VI. 10.	Same as Sl. no. 2.	The legend *Śrī Rā,* symbol no. 11 of Plate II and the numeral 19.
PL. VI. 11.	A broken coin, symbols are not clear.	The legend *Śrī Rā* and other symbols are not clear.
PL. VI. 12.	Seated lion (?) facing right with symbols 4 and 7 of Plate II	The legend *Śrī Rāma,* symbol no. 11 of Plate II and the numeral 25
PL. VI. 13.	Same as Sl. no. 12.	Same as Sl. no. 12.
PL. VI. 14.	Same as Sl. no. 1.	Symbol no. 13 of Plate II and the numeral 27.
PL. VI. 15.	—Do—	Symbol no 12 of Plate II and the numeral 33.

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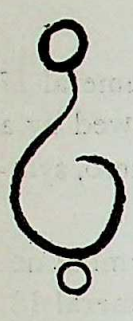
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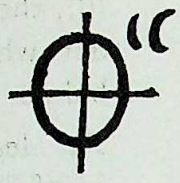
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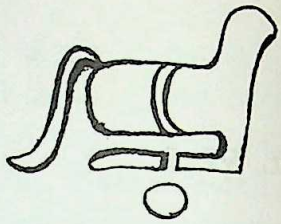
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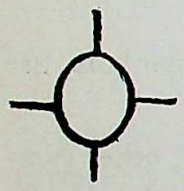
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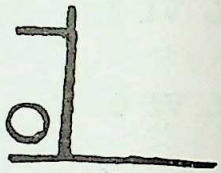
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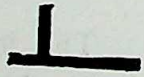
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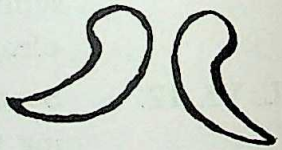
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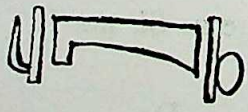
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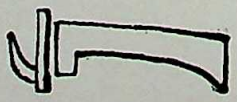
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Figures on Ganga Panams-I

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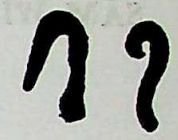

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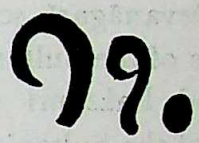

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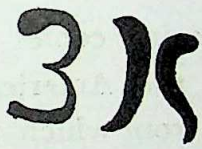

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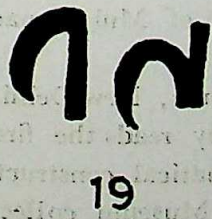

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Figures on Ganga Fanams-II

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A HORSEMAN—TYPE GOLD COIN OF MUḤAMMAD BIN SĀM WITH DEVANĀGARĪ LEGEND

JOHN S. DEYELL

(PL. I)

To date, two distinct types of the Indian-fabric gold coins of Muḥammad bin Sām have been published. The first is a ṭaṅkah bearing the image of an equestrian on the obverse, with a marginal legend in both Arabic and Devanāgarī scripts. Its reverse has an Arabic inscription giving the titles of the Sultan.[1] The second type is a dīnāra bearing a conventionalised Lakshmī on the obverse. On the reverse is a Devanāgarī rendition of the Sultan's name. There are two varieties of this latter, *Śrī maha/ mada vini/ sāma* and *Śrīma ha/ mīra mahama/ da sāma.*[2] The weight of the ṭaṅkah approximates 11.17 g., and the dīnāra 4.33 g.

Now a third type of Muḥammad's gold coins comes to light, in the form of a metal foil impression in the trays of the American Numismatic Society. The present location of the coin from which the impression was taken is unknown; the only clue is a note on its ticket, "Miss M. Schwartz." The handwriting has been recognised by Dr. Michael Bates as that of his predecessor, the late Dr. George Miles. Presumably Dr. Miles, being unable to procure the coin for the Society's cabinet, endeavoured at least to record the coin in foil. The coin proper was pressed in the fold of metal leaf so as to show both surfaces side by side when the

1. Three specimens in gold are reported : National Museum, New Delhi (H. N. Wright, *The Sultans of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology*, No. 3A); British Museum, London (Nicholas W. Lowick, "The Horseman Type of Bengal and the Question of Commemorative Issues", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXV, 1973, p. 197); Smithsonian Institute, Washington (P. L. Gupta, "On the Date of the Horseman Type Gold Coin of Muḥammad Bin Sām," *JNSI*, XXXVIII, 1976, p. 86.
2. Wright, *op. cit.*, No. 4 and No. 5. Red Fort Museum, New Delhi. A number of other specimens are known. Wright incorrectly reads the first line of the second legend as "*Śrīmat-ha*", the proper grammatical construction. I have inspected a number of these coins in the British Museum collection, some of which show the upper portion of the legend quite clearly, and in all cases the last *akshara* is simple *ha* and not the conjunct *t-ha*.

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leaf was flattened. This method guards against inadvertent mixing of impressions from different coins which would create bogus mules, and also registers the relative angle of the die axes.

Description : Gold,[3] round, 16.5 mm., 2.27 g..[3]

Obverse : Warrior, mounted on a horse galloping left, brandishing aloft a mace in his right hand. Around, illegible inscription.

Reverse : Within circular border of dots, three-line Sanskrit legend in Devanāgarī script :

श्रीम ह *śrīma ha—*
मीर महम *mīra mahama—*
द साम *da sāma*

"The renowned Amīr, Muḥammad Sām."

Six-pointed star to right of top line. **(PL. I. 5 a and b)**

There is the hint of a vowel sign above the last *akshara* in the third line, suggesting the reading *me* rather than *ma*. If this was intentionally engraved, the legend should be read in the locative case, which does not make too much sense. Perhaps the faint dot following this last *akshara* is the visible portion of *visarga*. If so, the last vowel must be short, not long, and the case nominative. This is the preferred reading.

The centre of the reverse legend is weakly struck, or perhaps the foil has taken a weak impression. However, sufficient portions of the *aksharas ra, ma* and *ha* are visible to confirm the reading as that of the second variety of the Lakshmī type above (the so-called "Kanauj" coins), although the style of calligraphy differs somewhat.

The published specimen most similar to this coin would appear to be the fractional gold ṭankah in the British Museum collection attributed to the Bengali ruler ʿAlī Mardān.[4] In weight, 2.26 g , and obverse horseman design, it is almost identical. In fact the similarity of the two coins is remarkable, allowing for the difference in legend. A common minting provenance is not unlikely, which from previous and analogous specimens would seem to be the city of Gauḍa or Lakhnautī in Bengal.

3. According to the descriptive ticket accompanying the facsimile; the observations must be of Dr. Miles.

4. Lowick, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

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COINS OF SIṀHENDRAPĀLA, A HITHERTO UNKNOWN KING OF CENTRAL INDIA

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

(Pls. VII-VIII)

Recently I acquired from my friend Dr. R. K. Sharma, Principal, Prachya Niketan, Bhopal, two minute silver coins for study, and I am thankful to him for his kind permission to publish the same. They are roughly circular and as seen from the legend, belong to the same chief. They may be described as follows :

I. Diameter : minimun .85 and maximum .9 cm.; weight : .2582 gm.

Obv. : Two-line legend in mediaeval Nāgarī :

Line 1 *Sīhendra—*
,, 2 *pāla.*

Rev. : Goddess Lakshmī seated with legs placed facing one another, represented very crudely. Decoration consisting of a row of dots above a line along the edge in the upper half.

(Pl. VII. 5)

II. Diameter : minimum .95 and maximum 1 cm.; weight : .2211 gm.

Obv. : As above.

Rev. : As above, but the representation of the goddess is much more crude.

(Pl. VIII. 1)

As pointed out earlier, the legend on both the coins is identical. But there is an important difference in the formation of the initial *akshara* of the name to which attention ought to be invited. On coin no. I, the medial sign for *ī* in the first letter is detatched from the top-line and there is considerable gap between the letter and the medial sign; secondly, the left lower portion of this *akshara* is formed like a triangle which at first sight gives the wrong impression that it is *m*. But the medial sign and other considerations leave no doubt that the *akshara* intended is *sī*. It is thus evident that the coins belong to a chief named Sīhendrapāla the correct form of whose name is undoubtedly Siṁhendrapāla.

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It may be pointed out that the representation of the goddess on the reverse of these coins is very crude and it is not without some effort that one can recognise her. No part of the body is properly shown. Only lumps and lines are employed for representing various limbs. There is no charm or grace in the figure. It is not clear if the goddess is two-armed or four-armed. But there is greater probability in favour of the latter. As will be shown below, the coins have probably to be attributed to the mediaeval period. In that case they are of great interest in as much as they show the survival of the legend-seated goddess type till the mediaeval period.

These two coins evidently represent the monetary issues of a king called Siṁhendrapāla. The letters *s*, *p* and, *l* have assumed their modern forms with their right vertical lines fully developed. Then again there are continuous top-lines above each line of the legend. These features relegate the coins in question to *circa* 13th-14th century A. D. It would thus follow that Siṁhendrapāla flourished during the 13th or 14th century A. D.

Unfortunately historians are not aware of any ruler named Siṁhendrapāla who flourished during this period. Moreover, findspot of these coins also remains unknown. The only thing that can be said with some probability is that they have been found somewhere in Central India. This supposition also finds support from the fact that these coins are of the 'legend and seated goddess' type which was first introduced by the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva and remained popular in Central India for a long time thereafter and influenced the coinages of several dynasties ruling in this region and even outside. These coins thus bring to light for the first time a hitherto unknown ruling chief of Central India who flourished in the mediaeval period. But he remains a shadowy figure in the absence of any other information which may be thrown up only by future discoveries.

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A RARE COIN OF SULTAN SHAMS-UD-DUNIYA WA'D DIN ABU AL MUZAFFAR DAULAT SHAH OF BENGAL

MANIK LAL GUPTA

(PL. IV)

Dr. B. B. Hazarika Director-in-Charge, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, has published a silver coin[1] struck in Bengal in the time of Sultan Shams-ud Din Iltutmish of Delhi. This coin was found by the said department while digging earth in a village Kadaligaon in the District of Nowgong, in the year 1965.

The coin weighs 11 grams. It is 28 mm. in size. On the obverse the legend in Persian[2] reads, "*As-Sultan al Azim Shams-ud-Duniya Wa'd Din Abu al Muzaffar Daulat Shah As Sultan*" (The great King Shams-ud-Duniya Wa'd din (Piller of the world and religion) Abdul Muzaffar Daulat Shah). **(PL.IV. 1)**

On the reverse the Persian legend[3] reads, *Al Imam al mast asim Amir ul mu'minin* (In the time of religious Chief Mustasim, Commander of faithful). The coin is round shaped and undated. It does not bear the name of the mint. So the question of identification of the ruler arises.

The appearance of the coin which resembles in toto the style which has been found in the coins of the Bengal Sultans. The name of Caliph (*Al Imam al mast' asim Amir ul mu'minin*) for indicating the time of the issue of the coin, it may be assigned to a medieval Muslim ruler of Bengal.

The coin is interesting in so far as it is the only evidence which alludes to the Delhi Sultan Shams-ud Din Iltutmish's connection with Bengal. Till the discovery of this coin there was nothing extant as a token of the reign of the rebel chief except a coin dated 627 A. H. in which he describes himself as Daulat Shah bin Maudud and which retains the name

1. *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies'*, Calcutta, XV (1975), 3, pp. 173-175.
2. *Assam District Gazetteers*, Sibsagar, Shillong. (1967)
3. Ibid·

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of Iltutmish the Sultan of Delhi, and herein lies the importance of this coin being the second token of the reign of Daulat Shah who expelled the imperialists from Bengal bag and baggage.[1]

Daulat Shah ruled the country for eighteen months only and this coin of Daulat Shah shows that he assumed independent status.[2]

Thus it may be said that the discovery of such a coin is full of interest indeed. But until some further information is available not much can be said on this perplexing point. So this coin will be of great value to scholars who are interested not only in Medieval Indian History, but also in medieval Indian numismatics.

1. *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, XV (1975), 3, p. 174.
2. *The History of Bengal* (ed.by Sir J. N. Sarkar), II, p. 44.

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A UNIQUE COPPER COIN OF THE VIJAYANAGAR KING HARIHARA—II (1377-1404 A. D.)

A. H. SIDDIQUI

(PL. I)

The coins of the rulers of the medieval Hindu dynasties are characterised by having a figure on one or both sides of the coin along with the legend inscribed. But the recent discovery of coins of Gajapati king, Prataparudra Deva, has revealed the existence of a new class of coins of the Hindu dynasties which do not contain any figure and the legend is inscribed on both the sides of the coin.

While searching for the coins of this class, I found that my collection contains a small size copper coin, which can be ascribed to the Vijayanagara king, Harihara II. The details of the coin are as follows :

Metal: Copper. Shape: Circular. Dia: 1.2 cm. Wt:26 grains
Legend : 1.250 grammes

Obverse	*Reverse*
Pratāpa Kā	*Harihara*
Kati Ya	*rāya*

(PL. I. 7)

The legends of both the obverse and the reverse run in three lines with Devanagari script of sixteenth century A. D. The legend of the obverse contains in the middle line the word Pratapa followed by another word continuing in the third line. This second word I conjecturally read as *Kaka (tiya)*. The reverse of the coin bears the name of the king as *Harihara raya*. As the name of the king is distinctly inscribed as Harihara raya its attribution to Vijayanagara king is quite valid.

The usual coins of Vijayanagara dynasty contain figures of elephant, bull, Garuda, etc. on one side of the coin and inscription on the other side. The pattern of the present coin is a departure from the common types.

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The discovery of this unique copper coin of Harihara II reveals the following facts :

1. Harihara II had sway over Telengana region (Warangal) and so he struck coins according to the pattern in vogue in that region.

2. This new type of coin was struck in the region of Telengana following perhaps the coins of Kakatiya rulers in circulation in that area. Subsequently the same class of coins was continued by Gajapati rulers and their vassal in the Telengana region.

3. The Bahmani kings after Mujahid Shah were nominal rulers. The reigns of Ghiyasuddin Tahatman Shah, and Shamsuddin Daud Shah II were full of disturbance and these rulers were too much occupied in settling their internal issues. The reign of Muhammad Shah II, who was peace-loving, was free from wars and so during this time the Telengana rulers had, perhaps, became vassals of Harihara II.

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AN INTERESTING COIN OF NĀSIRU-D-DĪN KHUSRAU

DEVENDRA HANDA

(PL. II)

Quṭbu-d-Dīn Mubāraka Shāh I had entrusted the affairs of administration to the hands of a convert Hindu of low birth, who later seized the opportunity to murder his master and proclaim himself Sultān with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Khusrau in A. H. 720 = A. D. 1320. That he issued gold, silver, billon and copper coins is sufficient proof of his complete authority over the state and its organizations for some time at least. Some time back, I obtained[1] an interesting new billon coin of Khusrau which is described below.

Billon, Round, 1.5 × 1.4 cm., 3.090 gm. × 47.75 gr.

Obverse : Within a dotted circle
Bull to left, on hindquarter
Traces of Nāgarī legend above [खुसर][ो]स[श]ाह

Reverse : within a dotted circle

السلطان
المظفر
السلاطين
خسرو

(Pl II. 13)

Though the legend on the obverse is not very clear and legible, yet the bull provides us some interesting evidence. Muḥammad Bin Sām had adopted this device on the obverse of his coins from Rajput coinage. It continued on the coins of his successors upto Alau-d-Dīn Masaud Shāh (A. D. 1241-46) and was discarded by Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd (A. D. 1246-65). The adoption of this device once again after a gap of nearly

1. This coin was purchased by me some years back from a goldsmith of Raekot in district Ludhiana, Panjab. Most probably, the coin comes from Hathur, an ancient site near Raekot (For details about the site and its antiquity see *Punjab District Gazetteer-Ludhiana District : 1904, Lahore, 1907, p. 227*).

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three quarters of a century, is important. Khusrau himself was a convert Hindu and had usurped power treacherously. Barani states that Khusrau's '*coup de main* was the consequence of a Hindu revolution, and his accession ushered in a period of the triumph of Hinduism and the downfall of Islām.'[1] A careful consideration of Khusrau's depredations and iconoclastic zeal during his Southern campaigns renders Barani's statement exaggerated and unbelievable. The present coin, however, indicates that Khusrau had something to do with Hinduism and had some definite motive in issuing such a coin. Khusrau had a considerable number of Hindu followers, particularly from his native Gujarat State and some of them probably practiced Hindu religious rites even in the royal palace.[2] Khusrau may have issued this coin under the influence of and/or to please his Hindu followers and accomplices. He may have done so even to please all his Hindu subjects (who were tyrannised by the Khaljis) and the neighbouring Rajput rulers to gain their sympathy and support in order to consolidate his newly gained power. Anyway, whatsoever may have been the reasons of issuing such a coin, it is unique and important.

1. S. Roy in *The Delhi Sultanate* (Eds. R. C. Majumdar et al) Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1967, pp. 44-5.
2. Ibid

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A NEW COIN OF MUGHISU-D-DĪN YŪZBAK OF BENGAL

ROMA NIYOGI

Ikhtyāru-d-Dīn Yūzbak was the governor of Lakhanauti under Sulṭān Nāsiru-d-Dīn Mahmud of Delhi; subsequently he assumed independence, took the title of Mughisu-d-Dīn and issued coins in his own name.[1] So far only six pieces of Yūzbak's *tankahs* have been published and a few more are known in private collections. Issued in 653 A. H. all these coins have the same legend in which the Sultan is described as ابو المظفر. There is some controversy regarding the mintname, but majority of the scholars have read it as Lakhanauti and not Lakhnor. This series of silver coins of Yūzabak was struck from the revenue of Arḍ Badan (or Aḍ Mardan or Ar Mardan); it has been suggested that this issue commemorated Yūzbak's conquest of 'Umardan' or Mardan in Hoogly and Nūdiā.[2]

The silver coin under discussion is a new variety of Yūzbak. It is now in the collection of Shri H.P. Poddar, a renowned numismatic collector of Calcutta, who has very kindly allowed me to take a plaster cast from it. The coin is now being brought to the notice of the numismatists and historians with his gracious permission.

This silver coin is a very well preserved piece which seems to have been hardly in circulation. The legend is written in beautiful *Naskh* with balanced letters; the cxecution of the coin is superb. In size and weight it generally resembles the other coins of Yūzbak. But the date and the mint-name are new and partly also the legend. They are as follows.

Obverse : Within a circle with margin outside : في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

1. *The Struggle For Empire* (ed. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 141, 145, 208.
2. Karim, *The Corpus of Muslim Coins of Bengal*, p. 22.

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Marginal legend : ضرب نوديا فى شهور
اثنين وخمسين وستمائة

Reverse : In a plain area

السلطان الاعظم
مغيث الدنيا والدين ابو
الفتح يوزبك السلطان
(نا) صر الدين امير المومنين

The importance of the coin is threefold.

Firstly it supplies us with a new date, namely 652, one year earlier than the heretoknown one—653 A. H. and accordingly pushes back the date of Yūzbak's assumption of independence to 652 A. H. at the latest.

Secondly, it introduces us to a new and significant title of Yuzbak....

ابو الفتح the Father of Victory. Minhaj informs us that 'Umardan' generally taken to be the same as Arḍ Badan etc. of the coins and identified with Madaran or Mandāran in Hoogly) was under a Sāvantara or feudatory of the king of Orissa (Narasṁhadeva I). As a governor under Delhi Yūzbak led a campaign against the chief but was defeated with a heavy loss. Later reinforced with military help from Delhi, he overpowered the Sāvantara in a well-planned attack and captured 'Umardan.' He then reduced the whole country of Rāḍhā "which was almost camplete with the second conquest of Nadia."[2] After this remarkable success Yūzbak occupied Oudh and assumed independence; he took the title of Sultan

1. Mr. M. Nazim, Curator, Indian Museum, has kindly checked up and endorsed my rendering of the coin-legend.
2. *TN*, II, pp. 762 ff; *Hist of Bengal*, (ed. Sarkar), pp-51-52.

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Mughisu-d-Dīn and on the coins proudly described himself as the Father of Victory.

Thirdly, the coin presents us with a new mint-name-Nudiā new not only for Yūzbak, but, so far, also for the whole range of Muslim rulers of Bengal. If this earlier series of the monetary issue of the Sulṭān is also his first one, it may be suggested that Nūdiā was the place of his assumption of independence. His success at consolidation of the newly conquered area is indicated by the fact that he struck a second series of coins from the revenue collected from the region.

The new coin discussed here thus reveals some important aspects of the history of Mughisu-d-Dīn Yūzbak, a Sulṭān of Bengal.[1]

1. At present it has not been possible to provide an illustration; the deficiency, however, is hoped to be made up in future in an article dealing with the coins of Yūzbak.

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A TOKEN OF THE PERIOD OF SULTANS OF BENGAL

G. S. FARID

(PL. II)

The description of the coin is as follows : Metal—Silver; Size—2.5 cm.; Weight—10.5 gms approx.

One side of the coin is blank while the other side bears two markings,—one of the running cat and other of an eye. **(PL. II. 5.)**

From the above data we are to deternine the status of the blank and its period of issue. It is not tenable to argue that it is a coin of one of the Sultans of Bengal, which escaped impression due to negligence and also some how escaped notice of the officers at the mint and treasury and became legal tender even in the absence of the name of the Sultan.

In the event of so many improbabilities, it cannot be accepted as a coin. It is an unofficial token bearing the private symbol of the person who issued it while regal money was in short supply. This might have been issued by some businessman of high repute and influence. It is not possible to identify correctly which of the two symbols belong to the owner and the shroff. But it seems probabe that the peculiar cat marking is the symbol of ownership while the eye symbol is the shroff mark impressed as a hall-mark of purity.

The period of issue may be ascertained from the eye marking impressed on the blank, which is also to be found on a number of coins of the Sultans of Bengal. The earliest coin bearing the eye marking has been found in one of the coins of Hamza Shah and the latest on Husain Shah's.

Therefore this token must have been issued during the period A H. 814 and A. H. 913. Moveover, the study of the history of Sultans of Bengal, leads to the conclusion that the token was probably issued during the chaotic period of Hamza Shah and prior to the reign of Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah, when the entire administration was in jeopardy due to the activities of Raja Ganesh (Kans). The governments of the later Sultans were stable enough and the issue of the token was out of question. Hence, its period of issue may be fixed between A. H. 814 and A.H. 819.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF NARANĀRĀYAṆA

A. N. LAHIRI

Recently a heavy-weight gold *ṭaṅka* (187.5 grains, 12.15 gram) has been acquired by Mr. Parimal Ray and has duly been published by himself and Mr. V. Chowdhury. It bears on the obverse a Sanskrit legend in Bengali characters, *Śrī-Śrī-Hara-Gaurīcharaṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*, and on the reverse; 'a maned allegorical Lion to left with dotted crescent above' and a circular marginal legend around, *Digvijavī-Samara-siṁha-Śrīman-Naranārāyaṇabhūpālasya*.[1]

The coin is highly distinctive from various points of view. As rightly noted by the publishers, it is not only the first gold coin of a Koch king but also the earliest known gold issue of a medieval Hindu king of North-Eastern India, and that the Lion depicted on the coin is 'quite akin' to that of the contemporary Tripura issues. The publishers have noted that the victory over Tripura by Naranārāyaṇa is hitherto based on the flimsy ground as no sufficient record could be had to establish as a historical fact. They, however, presume "that the coin in question has been issued in commemoration of the victories over aforesaid Hindu kingdoms", i. e. those of "the Assam valley, the Khasi and Jayantia Hills, Manipur, Tipperrah and part of Sylhet."[2]

But, as we see, the coin's great importance rests on its date, which is Śaka 1486. Edward E. Gait speaks of Naranārāyaṇa's regular conflicts with, and victories over, a number of neighbouring kingdoms, specially the Ahom state, Kachar, Jayantipur, Manipur, etc.[3]

There is virtually no doubt about Naranārāyaṇa's victories over the contemporary kings of the Ahom state, Kachar, Jayantipur and Manipur, which the king achieved through his younger brother and blitz-krieging general Chilārāi or 'Kite King.'[4]

1. See V. Chowdhury and P. Ray, *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 114-116 and Pl. XX. 4.
2. See *Cat. of Provincial Coin Cabinet Assam (CAC)*, 1930, p. 524.
3. Cf. *A History of Assam*, 3rd. Edn., 1967, pp. 52-54.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 52.

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Gait is, however, quite doubtful about Naranārāyaṇa's victory over the Tripura king, as recorded in the Koch *Vaṁśāvalī* and corroborated only by an Assam *Burañjī* of uncertain date [1] But the Koch-Tripura conflict is noted not only in the *Puraṇi Asama Burañjī* but also in the *Daraṅga Rājavaṁśāvalī*. While the former simply speaks of the conquest of Tripura,[2] the latter says that Chilāraī fought with the Tripura king with forty thousand heroic soldiers and killed him[3] and his eighteen thousand soldiers. Thereafter, the heir-apparent of Tripura (or the brother of the Tripura king according to another view[4]) sued for peace and was granted it after he had paid 10,000 silver coins, 100 gold coins and 30 horses; and the annual tribute for Tripura was fixed at 9,000 gold (coins).[5] All these go to indicate that the Koch claim of a conquest of Tripura by Naranārāyaṇa through his brother Chilāraī is not altogether a false one. Of course, what to speak of the defeat of the Tripura king, the *Rājamālā*, the State Chronicle of Tripura, is silent about any such war.

However, if we look at the year of issue of the gold coin under study, we are led to presume with a great amount of certainty as to what might have happened between Naranārāyaṇa and his possible Tripura adversary. In Śaka 1485, or at the beginning of Śaka 1486, Anantamāṇikya, the weakling son and successor of the great king Vijayamāṇikya I, ascended the throne of Tripura. So long Vijayamāṇikya was alive, Naranārāyaṇa, or, for that matter, Chilāraī, possibly did not come into any conflict with Tripura; but with his demise and accession of a worthless successor the situation completely changed, and the ever-aggressive Koch army under Chilāraī had the golden opportunity of penetrating into Tripura without much difficulty and possibly won some decisive,

1. See ibid., p. 54.
2. See Hemchandra Goswami's *Puraṇi Asama Burañji* (in Assamese), 1977, p. 51.
3. See Baladeva Sūryakhaḍi Daivajña's *Daraṅga Rājavaṁśāvalī* (in Assamese), Ed. by Nabin Chandra Sarma, 1973, p. 86 (v. 424). Here we are told that Śukladhvaja-Chilāraī killed the Tripura king.
4. Cf. Amanatulla Ahmed's *History of Cooch Behar* (*HKB*) (trans. by S. C. Ghoshal), pp. 140-141. There are two views as to who sued for peace : (1) the heir-apparent of Tripura or (2) the brother of the defeated and assassinated king. For the latter view see *Daraṅga Rājavaṁśāvalī* (n. 7), p. 86 : *Tripurār bhāi*.
5. See *Daraṅga Rājavaṁśāvalī*, p. 86, and cf. *HKB*, pp. 140-141 for the terms of the peace-treaty.

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though impermanent, victory. This fact, under-standably not recorded in the *Rājamālā*, is otherwise amply borne out by the adoption of the characteristic Tripura 'Lion' on the present gold *ṭaṅka*, which is but a commemorative medallion of great significance, not a coronation issue. It may incidentally be noted that Anantamāṇikya's initial coins dated Śaka 1486,[1] which is the date of the gold coin of Naranārāyaṇa under study, does not depict the 'Lion' the most characteristic device of the coins of the Tripura royal house.

In the remarkable marginal legend the king (Naranārāyaṇa) calls himself *Samarasiṁha*, and probably symbolically depicts himself as the 'War-Lion.'[2] His assumption of the other epithet, *Digvijayī* ('the Conqueror of the territories of all directions,') though apparently indicative of unreal and vain claim of widespread conquests, was not altogether meaningless in those days of difficult communications and ignorance of the vastness of the Indian sub-continent. Vanquishing the neighbouring kings of various principalities all around is no little achievement for a medieval king like Naranārāyaṇa. Only some sixteen years later a Tripura king of much less power and military activity, viz. Amaramāṇikya, adopted this grandiloquent epithet *Digvijayī*.[3]

The obverse legend of the coin, viz. *Śrī-Śrī-Hara-Gaurī-charaṇa-kamalmadhukara*, which is but another epithet of Naranārāyaṇa, might have been influenced by the latest epithet of the Tripura king Ratna-

1. For Anantamāṇikya's initial and coronation coin of Śaka 1486 see A. N. Lahiri, "Viṣṇu on Some Tripura Coins", *Jour. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, III, pp. 27. 28, Pl. XII (second coin).
2. In this connection it is interesting to note the way Amanatulla Ahmed at p. 127 of his *HKB* speaks of Naranārāyaṇa's accession to the Koch throne in 'Śaka 1455' and the 'new king's issuing coins in his own name as well as his preparing two *chhāps* (seals or dies ?) for use 'on special royal mandates'—one 'with the name of the king inscribed thereon' and the other 'with the figure of lion'. But, strangely enough, no coin of Naranārāyaṇa with the date Śaka 1455 has so far come to light and the earliest dated and apparently regular and normal coins of Naranārāyaṇa are those silver *ṭaṅkas* which bear the only date Śaka 1477 (*HKB*, pl. *Kha.* 2-5), and *those coins do not bear the device of the lion.*
3. For Amaramāṇikya's coin with the epithet *Digvijayī* see A. N. Lahiri, "Tripurā-rājyer Mudrā" in R.C. Majumdar's *Bāṅglā Deser Itihās, Madhya Yug* 2nd Edn., Pl. *Na.* 6 (p. 505, No. 6).

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māṇikya I, *Pārvatī-Parameśvara-charaṇa-para*, as seen on his unique *ṭaṅka* of Śaka 1389.[1]

Any way, Naranārāyaṇa's above epithet or similar Śaiva-Śakta *biruda* with the various names of Śiva and Durgā became very popular with the neighbouring kings of the Ahom State, Kachar and Tripura. Incidentally, again, his other purely Śaiva *biruda*, *Śrī-Śrī-Śiva-charaṇa-kamala-madhukara*, as seen on his normal silver coins of Śaka 1477, was also widely adopted by the princes not only of Kachar but also of Jayantipur.[2]

1. For the coin see ibid., Pl. *Ga.* 5 (p. 503, No. 5).
2. See *HKB*, Pl. *Kha.* 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 for coins, and Botham, *CAC*, Pl. IV. 2 for a Jayantipur coin. *Śiva-pada-para* is often the epithet of Ahom kings on half-ṭaṅkas : see *CAC*, Pl. V. 1 (Rudrasiṁha), p. 460, No. 15 (Śivasiṁha), p. 473, No. 20 (Pramattasiṁha) and p. 484, No. 43 (Rājeśvarasiṁha).

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THE BIRD OR THE BIRD GOD ON THE COINS OF GADADHARA SIMHA

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

Some coins of the Ahom King Gadādhara Simha (1681-1696 A.D.) of Assam, contain the depiction of a bird,[1] on their reverse, below the legend at angle 6 or 7. Some scholars have referred to this depiction simply as a bird[2] whereas others style it as a peacock.[3] We propose to discuss this depiction here and suggest its possible identification.

Ahom traditions as recorded in the Buranjis speak of only two types of birds i.e., celestial birds. Both these were handed over to Khunlung and Khunlai, by the almighty god Lengdon (Indra), their grandfather. These two divine princes were selected by the great god to be his representatives on the earth. Khunlung (Prince elder) and Khunlai (Prince younger) were deputed to rule the earth and the two kind of birds were handed over to them for their use on the earth. One of these was a pair or two of birds, and the other was Somdeo, an image of the God (Lengdon) in the form of a heron.[4] The pair of birds is usually referred to as Cocks[5] in

1. cf. *JASB*, 1895, PL. XXII, 2-5; *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 298, Nos. 1-6. A gold coin of Udayaditya (1669-72) according to Allan (*NC*, IX, 1909) also contains the bird on its obverse.
2. *NC*, IX (1909), description in Catalogue portion and PL. XXIII. 4.
3. Botham, *CCPCA*, pp. 453-54, Nos. 1-4, PL. II. 6.
4. The God describing the objects, that He was to give to the princes says "I give you Chumphrārungshengmung (Somdeo). You will never leave the idol. The idol is put in a box. You will open the box at end of each year. You must be careful not to let the idol fall to the ground. You will then be endowed with long life. No king will disobey you," *Ahom Buranji* (Trs. Raibahadur Golap Chandra Barua; Henceforth *AB*) p. 12. Elsewhere, the shape of the god is given thus: "I give you Chumshengrung" (Somden and Sengden). You should greet the gods touching the ground with your head. The image of Chumphārungmung is in the shape of a heron." *AB*, p. 15. *Assam Buranji Sāra* (p. 1) refers to Somdeo as a form of Indra, and Indra is always identified with Ahom Lengdon.
5. The great God, Lengdon thus said to the two princes: "I give you a tusked elephant. I give you a pair of Kāishengmung (fowl of holy country) to take with you. You will calculate future events with their beaks, entrails, and legs," *AB*, p. 11. *Assam Buranji Sāra* (p. 2) refers to two pairs of *Kukurā* (cocks)

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literature, but Somdeo was the deity of the Ahom Kings. He was usually worshipped only by the king, on ceremonial and other occassions and was also to be worn by him on his neck during these occassions. Somdeo was made of gold in the shape of a heron. Both these, the cocks and the Somdeo, continued as a very important feature of the Ahom Kingship of Assam. Hence it is possible, that the depiction of the bird on the Ahom legend coins of king Gadādhara Simha, may be one of these two birds.

It is, however, rather difficult to identify it on the basis of the available depictions of the bird. It is certainly not a Cock. Its identification with peacock is also doubtful, as we shall see later. At least two different birds are depicted on coins. But it is possible to style the depictions as that of a heron, though it is not absolutely certain.

The identification of the bird with Somdeo as Heron presents some difficulty. For Somdeo was to be worshipped by the king alone and was to be sealed off thereafter in its box. The first Ahom king was directed by Lengdon (Indra) himself, not to let it be seen by anybody else.[1] The princes followed His directions in Heaven also.[2] Hence, it is just possible that the king may not have depicted Somdeo on his coins. In fact the

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named Kāishengmung. Elsewhere (Ibid., p. 3) it states that Kāishengmung is also known as Kāirākfāo. Subsequently the birds are referred to as cocks in the chronicles. It is said that on their arrival or rather descent on earth the divine princes discovered that the heavenly fowls were forgotten, *AB*, p. 18. Thereafter, one Langu was sent to "fetch the holy Cocks," *AB*, p. 19.

1. The God advised the princes in this regard thus : "You should see Chumphārungmung, once a year being attired in godly dress....When the month Dinsham (Māgh) comes, you should select an auspicious day and wash your bodies. You, then, attire yourself with pure dresses and taking water purified by incantations proceed to the temple of 'Chumphārungmung' without having had your meal in the morning. When you reach the temple, you must kneel down before the altar of the God and pay your homage. Then open the covering of the box and have a look at 'Chumphārungmung.' After taking out the idol, wash it with holy water. You should drink a quantity of the water. After this, you better keep the idol in the box shutting the covering. Never allow anybody else to have a look at the idol," *AB*, p. 13.
2. It appears that the instructions of the God were followed by the princes even in the heaven. They are said to have "knelt down before Chumphārungmung, and placed the gold idol in the box," on the eve of their departure from heaven to Mungdun (Assam), *AB*, p. 17.

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superistitious nature of the Ahom Kingship may be taken to suggest that the king may not have depicted Somdeo at all on his coins. It is also possible, however, that the depiction concerned is that of Somdeo, and it was because of this that it was not retained by subsequent kings of the dynasty on their coins, probably in keeping with the dictates of the great Lengdon. Some Ahom legend coins of the Ahoms refer to their issuers offering prayers to Lengdon (id. with Indra). It may not be impossible, thus, to argue that Gadādhara Simha decided to depict Him also in His Somdeo or bird form on this type of his coins. The reverse of Ahom coins, is related to the expression of their faith. Hence, the occurrence of the bird on this side suggests its divine nature. If the divine nature of the bird is accepted then it can only be identified with Somdeo, the bird form of Lengdon.

There was a temple on Charāideo hill in the Sibsagar District,[1] near Garhgaon, the Ahom capital. According to S. K. Bhuyan,[2] Charāideo was one of the earliest capitals of Ahom conqueror, Sukaphā. It was established in 1238, after leaving Sologuri, Habung, and Simaluguri, one after the other. King Sundāngphā in 1403 shifted the capital to Cheregua, "and Charaideo was relegated since then to the position of the metropolis of Ahom religion."[3] It is also said that king Shuchingmung, towards the middle of the 16th century directed his men to construct a town at Charāideo.[4]

The word Charāi means bird and deo denotes god. Hence the word Charāideo can be taken as indicating the 'bird god.' As there was no other 'bird god' that the Ahoms worshipped, the temple of the 'bird god' on the hillock named after it must stand for the temple of Somdeo. This is confirmed by textual evidence from several Buranjis that suggest

1. The hillock now known as Charāideo has no standing structure. However, at the top of it bits of baked bricks are scattered all around. There is also a large worked stone that may have once adorned the top of the brick structure as a part of its *Śikhara*. All these are indicative of the existence of the Charāideo temple on this site.
2. *Tungkhungia Buranji* (Trs. by S. K. Bhuyan, henceforth, *TB*), Int., p. XXXI.
3. Ibid.
4. *AB*, p. 142.

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that Somdeo was housed at Charāideo[1] where Ahom kings often went to worship Him.[2] Thus Somdeo and Charāideo seem to be identical and refer to the same deity. It is possible to suggest that the god or rather the bird god suggested by the place name Charāideo thus cannot be any other deity but Somdeo.

It appears that the form of the God Somdeo or Chomden or Chomdeo or Sheng or Shengdeu or Chengdeu or Shengden was too well known to the Ahoms, hence the place that housed His temple came to be known as Charāideo (bird god) In the *Ahom Buranji*, however, the god's form is likened to that of a heron only once in specific terms. The view that 'Chengdeo is a jewel set in a cylinder'[3] cannot be accepted as valid in view of our suggestion that the deity had the form of a bird. The place housing this temple could not have come to be known as Charāideo (or bird god), had His shape really been different.

Now that the real form of the god Somdeo is established as that of a bird, the depiction of the bird on coins of Gadādhara Simha can be

1. There is a reference in which Somdeo and Charāideo are mentioncd together. Thus, it is said in the *Ahom Buranji* (p. 274) that king Śiva Simha brought Shengdeu from Charāideu in 1739 A. D. This may suggest that Shengden or Somdeo is the bird god of the place called Charāideo after Him. King Gadādhara Simha is said to have brought 'Chomdeu' to the Holong (Ibid., p. 262) at the time of his accession. King Pramatta Simha, in Śaka 1667 (=1745 A. D.) brought the image of 'Chengdeo' from the shrine where the image was placed, cf. *TB*, pp. 46-47. Another reference also suggests the identity of the deity 'Shengden' who was housed at Charāideu, cf. *AB*, p. 291.
2. 'The King' Rudra Simha, 'was then staying at Charāideo Hill engaged in offering worship,' cf. *TB*, p. 31. King Gadādhara Simha was also similarly busy at Charāideu when the news of a revolt was given to him, cf. *AB*, p. 264. In 1742 A. D. King Śiva Simha went to 'Charāideu and worshipped Shengdeu,' cf. *AB*, p. 275. After his accession in 1745, king Pramatta Simha 'came to Charāideu and offered sacrifices to Lengdon (Indra) in the Deoghar there,' cf. Ibid., p. 279. These citations also suggest that Sheng or Somdeu, was housed at the place called Charāideu after this bird-god-form of Lengdon.
3. S. K. Bhuyan states that it is "also called Chumcheng, meaning a precious stone. Some similarity was established between the Ahom Chengdeo and the Hindu Salagram." King Purandara Simha is said to have sold it at Calcutta, cf. *TB*, p. 231. Had the form of Somdeo really been similar to that of Salagram, the hillock containing His temple would not have come to be known as Charāideo (bird god).

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taken as that of Somdeo or the bird form of Lengdon or Indra. We can therefore, now proceed to identify the particular bird in the form of which god Lengdon was concieved. This identification, we must admit, has its limitations, as it depends on the depiction of the bird on the coins. This depiction cannot be taken as that of a cock as it is not even remotely similar to it. One view is that this depiction is that of a peacock. But peacock is not found in Assam, as such the depiction cannot be that of a peacock.[1] Under the circumstances, the bird depicted on the coins can be taken as that of a heron on the authority of the text cited above, even though the legs of the bird are not as long as that of a heron.

1. The Assamese do not know a peacock. The Assamese word for peacock is Morācharāi which means Mora or *Mayūra* bird or the bird called *mayūra*. This also shows that the bird was not known in the north eastern regions. It is a dry land bird and the climate of Assam is not suitable to this bird.

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SOME GOLD COINS OF THE 18TH CENTURY AND THEIR EXCHANGE IN RUPEE AND PICES[1]

G. H. KHARE

1. In pre-British India and in the early years of the British rule in India, coins of various metals, both pure and alloy were current in the markets of India in general and were accepted even in the treasuries of Governments. In order, therefore, to ascertain the exact values of coins in one common and standard coin, several persons such as *Potdar*, *Sarraf*, Nanavati, etc. were employed. They must have prepared some tables for their use in everyday service. Unfortunately, such tables have not been traced as yet which definitely belonged to the pre-British period.

2. The late Mr. Princep seems to be the first British assayer or mint-master who had prepared such tables for the use of the British revenue, customs, excise duty collectors, whose main duty was to collect land-revenue, customs-duties, etc. in coin. A long table of such a type has been printed under the name "Useful Tables" (addition to J. Princep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II by J. Princep and E. Thomas, London, 1858) in the collection of his writings. But this was not the only one which he constructed. I have got in my possession a long table of this type in Marathi, the preparation of which was finalized on 21-8-1826 A. D., which was given for publication on 28.9.1926 and which was actually published on 6.10.1826 A. D.

3. This table was preceded by a similar one of 13.5.1823. This table includes 36 coins of gold and 119 coins of silver, their weights, their gold or silver contents in grains, their touches, the highest touch of pure gold and silver being 100, their exchange value in 100 Bombay rupees and the provenance of their currency. Nos. 37-39, 42, 44, 46-51, 53, 55, 58, 59, 61-67, 69-71, 74-77, 85-89, 92-108, 111 i. e. 53 in all from this table have been included in Princep's English table, but with some variations and others are excluded.

1. A supplement to this paper has been published by mistake in *JNSI*, XXXIX, p. 180, as a supplement of the authors paper published in that volume; the mistake is regretted. *JPS*.

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4. In pre-British India, there were no banks in the sense we use the word now; but there were individual giant money-lenders or bankers who dealt with coins. One of their business was to purchase and sell coins and it is but natural that we should find both the purchasing and selling prices of several coins with their names in their account books under the lezer coins. Unfortunately, this purchase and sale were made through the agency of one common rupee which was not specified in their account books in many cases.

5. In this paper I wish to deal with some gold coin which were purchased and sold as well as were collected as ransom from the defeated enemies. There is one Raste family in Wai (Dist. Satara) the early known members of which were hereditory bankers as well as captains in the Peshwa's Army. One such eminent captain was serving in the present Karnataka under Tryambakarao Pethe in 1772 A. D., who was commissioned with the charge of the expedition against Haidar Ali. During this expedition that captain was required to collect money as ransom bit by bit from Haidar Ali and his subordinates. A few months ago I brought from the present descendent of that captain four gunny bags of account papers among which was found a long account sheet in which all the moneyed transactions which the Captain did in the Śaka year 1694 (1772-3 A. D.) while participating in the expedition, have been noted in minute details. My friend Shri C, Y. Marathe helped me to note down certain details of gold coins which were entered in those account-papers and which I have used in this article.

6. In these accounts three types of gold coins viz. *Hon*, *Muhar* and *Phalam* have been mentioned and these three types have been again divided into sub-types in the following manner :

Hon : (1) Advānī, (2) Dhāravāḍī (a: old and b: unspecified type), (3) Durgī, (4) Haidari, (5) Harappanahalli, (6) Ikkerī, (7) Jhalakī, (8) Nāgāpaṭṭaṇī, (9) Phulī, (10 Sabadanahalli, (11) Sagarī, (12) Savaṇūrī (13) Veṅkaṭapatī, and (14) Unspecified type. *Muhar* : (1) Hālī Sikka, (2) New Puṇe Sikka, (3) Pañchamela and (4) Unspecified type : New and old *Phalam* : (1) Apharajī, (2) Gunṭakali, (3) Kaṇṭherāī, (4) Kuṇagalī, (5) Kaṭārī, (6) Unspecified type. Thousand of *Hons* and hundreds of *Muhars* and *Phalams* with their exchange values in rupees

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have been noted in these accounts. These coins have been in general, collected, and only in a few cases have been sold. I give below the worked out exchange values of the coins and commission when sold.

Hons

	Name	value in Rupees and Pices	commission when sold.
1.	Adavānī	3-32, 4-00	—
2.	Dhāravaḍī	3-48, 3-51, 3-54, 3.63, 4-00 4-48.	—
3.	A. ., old	3-00, 3-05, 3-08, 3-09, 3-24, 4-00	0-40, 0-56 0-59, 0-60.
4.	Durgī	3-66, 3-30, 3-47, 3-48, 4-00	—
5.	Haidarī	3-32, 3-44,	0-52, 1-00
6.	Harappanahallī	3-18, 4.00	0-62
7.	Ikkerī	3-48, 4-00, 4-32	old 0-2, 0-4, 0-6, 0-7, 0-8, 0-18.
8.	Jhalakī	4-00	—
9.	Nāgāpaṭṭaṇī	4-00	—
10.	Phulī	4-16	—
11.	Sabadanahallī	4-00	—
12.	Sagarī	4-32	—
13.	Sāvaṇūrī	4-00	—
14.	Veṅkaṭapatī	4-16	—
15.	Unspecified types	4-00, 4-16, 4-32.	—

Muhars

1.	Hālī Sikka	16	—
2.	New Puṇe Sikka	13-20, 13-28, 13-36	—
3.	New 16, Old 17		—
4.	Panchamela	old 15, 17.	—
5.	Unspecified types	13-00, 13-16, 13-20, 13-24 13-26, 13-28, 13-32, 13-36 13-37, 13-44, 13-46, 13-48, 13-51, 16, 17.	—

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Phalams

1.	Apharajī	3.5 per Rupee	—
2.	Guṇṭakalī	4 per Rupee	—
3.	Kuṇagalī	3 per Rupee	—
4.	Kaṇṭherāī	3, 3, 2, 3, 5 per Rupee	—
5.	Katārī	3.5 per Rupee	—
6.	Unspecified types	3, 3.5,4 per Rupee	—

8. From the foregoing table it will be clear that one and the same coin has been given different exchange values in one and the same year and perhaps in one and the same month even. The main reason for giving such different values appears to be very small differences of touches of the metals used for minting the coins and their weights. This was quite natural; for in those days one and the same coin was minted in a number of places and years and the metal must have been of different touches and the weights might have been slightly different ones. There are two other plausible reasons also. If the enemy or the payer were to be an humbled one, he might have accepted lower values of the coins than those that were current in the market at the time and offered by the payee. In the same way if the collector were to be in very great need of the collection, he might have shown some liniency in the assertion of the touch of the metal and the weight of the coin.

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ON THE AHOM NAME OF KAMALEŚVARA SIMHA

J. N. PHUKAN

In an article, 'On a Coin Of Jogeśvara Simha (1821-1825 A. D.)' in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (C. R. Singhal Commemoration Volume), Vol. XXXIX, Parts I-II, 1977, pp. 149-52, Dr. Jai Prakash Singh gives the Ahom name of Kamaleśvara Simha (1795-1810 A. D.) as 'Shuhenphā' (p. 150). This form of the name appears only in the list of contents of the *Āhom-Buranji* (in Ahom language with parallel English translation, edited and translated into English by Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, 1930). Elsewhere in the text portion of the same chronicle, the name is written as 'Shuhengphā' (pp. 357 and 374). In the Sixth Chronicle incorporated in the *Sātsari Assam Buranji* (edited by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati University, 1960), the name is found as *Suklingphā* (pp. 171 and 185). In the list of Ahom kings appended to the *Deodhāi Asam Buranji* (edited by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, second edition, Gauhati, 1962), the name is recorded as *Suklingphā* (p. 235). This form of the name also appears in modern works like *A History of Assam* by Sir Edward Gait (second revised edition, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 218 and 364), *Assam Under the Ahoms* by U. N. Gohain (first edition, Jorhat, 1942, p. 66) and *Anglo-Assamese Relations* by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan (first edition, Gauhati, 1949, p. 614 under the list of kings).

It is thus evident that in the published chronicles and modern works, Kamaleśvara Simha's Ahom name appears in two forms—(i) SHUHENGPHĀ and (ii) SUKLINGPHĀ. The first is found in the *Āhom-Buranji* alone as referred to above (the form 'Shuhenphā' as occurred in the list of contents of the same work is probably due to oversight or printing mistake). The second is found in all old chronicles as well as most of the modern works.

The question therefore naturally arises which is the correct form of the name ? The right answer to this question can be had only by a comparison of the published forms of the name with those in the original manuscript chronicles. The original manuscript of the *Āhom-Buranji* is not available to us. The department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies

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does not possess it. We have thus no means to know whether the Ahom name of Kamaleśvara Simha occurs as 'Shuhengpha' or some other form in the original manuscript. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies possesses another old Ahom manuscript chronicle (No. 1160 A) in which the name appears as *Suklingphā* (folio 93 verso side). This form of the name also appears in the original manuscript of the *Deodhāi Asam Buranji* (the American Baptist Mission copy), now in the said Department.

All these go to suggest that the correct form of the Ahom name of Kamaleśvara Simha is *Suklingphā* (correctly *Su-kling-phā*, for Ahom words are monosyllabic and each word stands separately). The form *Shuhengphā* (correctly *Shu-heng-phā*) as appearing in the printed text of the *Āhom-Buranji* is probably due to wrong reading of the Ahom letter *k* as *h*. This conclusion, however, requires the confirmation of the original when the original manuscript of the *Āhom-Buranji* is recovered. Information has reached us now that this manuscript is in the possession of an Ahom *pandit* of Bokota in the Sibsagar Sub-Division.

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SIKH GOLD RUPEES

K. W. WIGGINS

In Volume XXXV of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, (1973) there appeared an article by Robert Domrow entitled "Two Tiny Sikh Coins." This article dealt with the well known small gold coins of about 10 grains in weight and 11 mm diameter, which have on the obverse in Persian the legend *Sahāya Sataguru* and on the reverse a *pipal* leaf, the Samvat date 1905 and in Persian the word *Mundarkā*.

In the article C. K. Panish is quoted as attributing these coins as an issue of Diwan Mulraj from the mint of Multan in the Panjab. No evidence is offered to support this attribution but the article states that Mulraj became Sikh Governor of Multan on the death of his father in September, 1844. On the 20th April, 1848, he declared his independence and began the second Sikh War. He surrendered to the British on 22nd January, 1849, thus ending his rule of less than a year, all in Samvat 1905.

It is now possible to confirm to some extent Panish's attribution of these coins from an official document.[1] In a minute dated 29th April, 1864, apparently made by the Commissioner at Amritsar and relating to the subject of a proposed gold coinage for India, the following passage appears : "When Mulraj was beseiged in Multan, being short of silver to pay his troops but having 40 lakhs of rupees hoarded in gold, he coined the whole of it into pieces which passed for one rupee. These have since been in great request."

It would have been useful had this minute contained a description of the coin but as no other gold rupees are known to have been issued from the Multan mint or indeed from anywhere else in the Punjab, it seems certain that the coin referred to is the same piece dealt with by Domrow in his article. The date, however, is the conclusive evidence—the siege of Multan began in September, 1848 and the city capitulated on 22nd January, 1849.

1. *Proceeding of the financial Department*, Government of India, 1864.

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A NEW MURSHIDABADI TOKEN IN VICTORIA MEMORIAL COLLECTION

KALPANA GHOSH

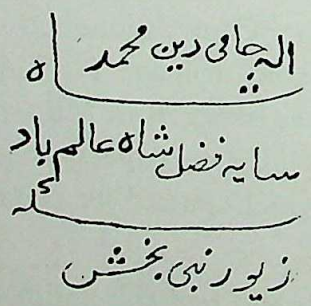
(PL. III)

It is well known that private individuals were allowed to have their bullions minted at E. I. Co.'s mints by paying certain charges. Such coins ordinarily followed the standard pattern from that particular mint. Over the last few years, a few such coins were discussed in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society* where the name of individual also appears in the legend. In Victoria Memorial collection there are 10 such coins, or tokens. They were received, in 1915, as gift from the then Collector of Bhagalpore, along with ten usual East India Company coins of San 19 Julus with inscribed date 1220 A. H. (1805 A.D.). Both the tokens and the coins are identical in weight and fabric.

Description of Token

Silver; circular; regular Oblique edge milling;[1] diameter 2.7 mm.; weight 11.6 gm.; mint mark-cinquefoil.

Obverse :



Usual Persian couplet found on Rupees of Shah Alam II except the bottom line *Sicca Jeware Nabi Baksh*. The above line may be translated as 'Sicca rupee as Jewel, Nabi Baksh.'

1. "From 1793 to 1818 machine struck coins had oblique edge milling." 'Production of coins in Early British days' by P. K. Tikku, Master of Mint, Alipore, Calcutta, *Victoria Memorial Bulletin*, V, 1971, p. **14**).

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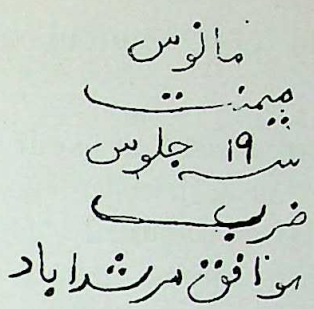
Reverse :



Manus Maimanat San 19 Julus (cinquefoil mint mark in marginal border) [In the 19th year of the reign of the associated with prosperity].

Zarb Muhafiq Murshidabad (That is 'struck resembling Murshidabad). (**PL. III. 8**)

It appears that our token has close stylistic resemblance[1] to two such tokens discussed by Biddulph and one by J. S. Deyell. In the legend of these tokens the following lines are note-worthy :

Mr. Biddulph's tokens[2]

Obv. legend :

Nizam-ud-din Hatrini (7)

Tazir Jewarat

(Tr. Jewel merchant or ornament merchant).

Again, in another token

Obv. :

Sicca Suraj Singh.

Mr. Deyell's token has the following legend

Obverse :

Zowabar i Jamil Sicca[3]

Fateh-Din

1. A gold coin, similar to the one published here, bearing the name of one Pyarelal Sarraf, is published by Mrs. Abha Singh in *JNSI*, XXXIX, pp. 173-74. *JPS.*
2. *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 176-178.
3. Ibid., XXXVI, pp. 154-155.

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Shudah Sharah (?)—Hindusthan

Deyell has translated it as 'beautiful ornament coin, Fateh din, Registered, Hindusthan.'

Therefor, it may be proposed that in our token 'Nabi Baksh' stands for the name of a merchant or a jeweller like Nizamuddin, Fateh din and Suraj Singh. Earlier, Gyani discussed a Gold Muhar of usual fabric resembling San 19 coin with English initial A. M. inscribed on the obverse.[1]

Gyani wondered whether this initial may stand for the name of mint-master, banker, or jeweller.

The problem, however, is to ascertain whether these tokens were primarily struck to be used as ornaments, or to be put into circulation as coins, and to find out their period of minting. It is likely that these tokens served both the purpose of coins as well as ornaments. We advance this suggestion that these tokens were intended ultimately to pass as current coins, and support a similar view expressed by Deyell, for the following reasons :

(1) The weight, fabric, regularly milled edge, and high finish of these tokens can hardly be the work of an individual die-maker. They are, in fact, machine struck, presumably at the E. I. Co. 's mints.

(2) Private coinage existed in the 18th century and such coins did in fact circulate as ordinary currency is a fact. Upendra Thakur's article on 'the currency of Tirhut in the early years of the Co.'s rule'[2] also supports this view. The Company used a levy system or 'baṭṭa' for converting private bullion into coins.

(3) The following order, issued by Mr. J. L. Chauvet, Sub-Secretary, published by order of the Governor General in Council on 1st Nov. 1792[3] is noteworthy :

"That all officers, Gomasthas, and others employed in the collection of revenues, ... and all persons Shroffs, Podars, Zamindars, Tallok-

1. Ibid,, XX, pt. 1, pp. 52-53.
2. Ibid., XX, pt. 2, pp. 205-213.
3. Selections from *Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. 2, p. 71 (Seton-Karr).

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dars, Farmers ? and all persons whatsoever, be prohibited affixing any mark whatsoever to the coin, and that all Rupees so marked be declared not to be legal tenders of payment in any public or private transactions ...."

Therefore it may be suggested that these tokens were minted, presumably at the Co.'s mints at the request of jewellers or any such person on payment of a 'batta.' Moreover, their mint date is 'not later than 1792' i. e. 1792 or earlier. Because, in that year the Company declared not to mint any coin with any personal mark affixed on it any more, and also put a stop to such tokens being recognised as coins.

Our token came in a bunch of ten similar tokens along with ten coins of E. I. Co. in the style of Murshidabad. Both the tokens and the coins are very much alike. Deyell also found his token in a large accumulation of usual coins in a Delhi Bullion house. All these facts help to establish the fact that they circulated as coins.

Since the writing of this article, some more such tokens with different names as the issuer are reported to be in existence. Our token is, therefore, an addition to three such tokens published earlier.

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ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF RĀMA-TAṄKĀS

SIMADRI BIHARI OTA

Rāma-taṅkās were manufactured by private agencies, such as temple authorities, and sold to the pilgrims at the holy places of Northern India. They are generally associated with Rāma and on them many events connected with Rāma are depicted. We can divide them into several types, such as Rāma-Lakshmaṇa, Rāma-abhisheka type[1]; Rāma-Sabhā type[2] and Hanūman trying to pick-up the sun type.[3] Apart from these there are two other types recently published by A. K. Maurya,[4] of these one is known as 'Yantra type' and the other as 'Hanūman carrying mountain type.' Then there are some taṅkās with the representation of other deities, with or without Rāma's association, e. g., Dāna-Līla (Rādhā-Kṛishṇa), Gopāla (cowherd) Kṛishṇa type;[5] Jagannātha Triad-Rāma-abhisheka type;[6] Kāli, Rādhā-Kṛishṇa type;[7] and Cow-Lakshmī type.[8]

The Rāma-taṅkās are made of silver, base silver, billon and brass. Their shape is round, and the size varies from 2.3 cms. to 2.9 cms., the weight ranging between 7.4 gms. and 11.79 gms. The script used for legends is Old Nāgari and in the case of some pieces later Bengali

According to D. C. Sircar[9], Devendra Handa[10] and some other scholars the Rāma-taṅkās were originally manufactured at Ayodhya and travelled to other important religious centres and circulated in different regions during the late modieval period.

But I venture to suggest that these-Rāma-taṅkas were originally minted at Agra and later on at other religious centres. As is well known

1. *JNSI*, XXVIII (1), p. 92.
2. *JNSI*, XXXVII (I-II), p. 174.
3. *Ibid*,
4. 'Two new Rāma-taṅkās', *JNSI*, XXXIX, pp. 186-87.
5. *JNSI*, XXVIII (I), p. 92.
6. *Ibid*, p. 93.
7. *Ibid*,
8. *JNSI*, XXXII (II), p. 215.
9. *JNSI*, XXVIII (I), p. 91.
10. *JNSI*, XXXIII (I), p. 136.

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Akbar died of dysentery at midnight on 25-26 October, 1605, in his palace at Agra.[1] The last part of his life was spent at Agra. Before his death in A. D. 1604, he issued some coins both in gold and silver. Among these coins one[2] is in the British Museum. The descriptions is as follows :

Metal : Gold; Weight : 74 grains; Mint : not known.

Obverse : Within dotted circle, two figures : a man, wearing crown of three cusps and carrying a sheaf of arrows and a stretched bow, followed by a woman, who draws back her long veil from her face.

Reverse : Within dotted circle, legend in Persian.
50 Farwardin = 1013 A. H.

Another coin[3] made of silver is now at the Bharat Kala Bhavan, B. H. U. Its particulars are as follows :

Obverse : A handsome man holding bow and arrow going onwards, followed by a woman holding a flower bud. Legend between the heads of the two persons is in Davanāgari script: *Rāma-Sīyā*.

Reverse : Within dotted circle, legend in Persian Language : *50 Farwardin*.

Rai Krishna Das of Bharat Kala Bhavan has remarked[4] that the name of the place where the coin was minted occurs on this silver coin. But this is wrong. The name does not appear either on this coin or on the gold coin mentioned above.

As the last years of Akbar's life were spent at Agra and as he issued these coins in this last part of his life, it may reasonably be inferred that these coins were in all probability minted at Agra.

Tulasi Das (1523-1623 A. D.) was undoubtedly a contemporary of the Great Moghul Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A. D. or 963-1014 A. H.).

1. *The Mughul Empire*, pp. 168-169.
2. Lanepoole, Stanley, *The Coins af the Mughul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, p. 34.
3. Rai Krishna Das, 'Rāma-Siyā mudrā evaṁ Tatkālīna Samāj Par Tulasī Dās Kā Prabhāva (in Hindi) *Prajñā* (1973-74), pp. 20-22.
4. *Ibid.*

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But it is hard to accept that the Emperor was influenced by Tulasi Das to such an extent that he struck a coin in honour of Rāma and Sīta. Tulasi Das and Akbar are not known to have ever met. It is, however, possible that the Bhakti movement connected with the cult of Rāma grew increasingly popular during the later years of Akbar's reign. It may be conjectured that to secure the support of the Hindus, particularly the Rāmabhaktas in that Akbar issued these coins.

According to K. D. Swaminathan[1] this coin can be dated back to 1683 A. D., as the date occurring on the reverse of the coin is Vikram Saṁvat 1740.

A. M. Shastri[2] dates this coin back to 18th or 19th century[3] on the basis of the palaeography of the legends.

Thus, these Rāma-Taṅkās are to be placed after the 17th century A. D., i. e., after the death of Akbar.

The religious conflict between Hindus and Muslims was kept in control by Akbar. But his successors were quite unable to curb the religious animosity. They favoured their own religion. They seem to have stopped the minting of the Rāma-Sītā type of coin issued by Akbar. People of the two religions adopted new methods for propagating the cause of their own religion. Most probably at this time the Rāma-taṅkas were manufactured by private agencies, like temple authorities at different religious centres to popularise the Vaishṇava cult. Thus the Rāma-taṅkās appear to have come into vogue as a result of the conflict between the Hindus and Muslims.

The Rāma-Sīta type of Akbar further suggests that the Rāma-taṅkas were possibly issued about the same period when Akbar and the Hindus felt the influence of the Bhakti cult as advocated by Tulasi Das. Thus the origin of the Rāma-taṅkas has to be connected with Agra. Later the Rāma-taṅkās were issued from many religious centres in the country and depicted, besides Rāma, Jagannāth, Kāli, Lakshmi Kṛishṇa etc.

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1. *JNSI*, XXXIV (II), pp. 263-264.
2. *JNSI*, XXXVII (I-II), pp. 172-176.
3. *Ibid*, p. 174.

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The Rāma-taṅkās were primarily meant for being preserved and not for being circulated as money. There are some pieces with the same device on the obverse and reverse, but having different dates and shroff-marks. It seems likely that such pieces were struck from time to time and alterations were made in their size, weight etc.[1]

The Rāma-taṅkās mentioned above obviously belong to the category of religious tokens (taṅkās), but the general nomenclature Rāma-taṅkā cannot be applied to all the religious tokens.[2] In some cases the name can be retained if the scenes depicted on them have some association with the Rama story.[3]

1. *JNSI*, XXXII (II), p. 215.
2. *JNSI*, XXXVII, Parts I & II. p. 176
3. *Ibid.*

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A NEW KĀLI-RĀDHĀ-KRISHṆA TOKEN

MURALIDHAR MISHRA

(PL. VIII)

I am greateful to my cousin sister, who gave me this token for my own collection. She found this token from a mango grove in the Dhenkānāl town, in Orissa, near the Rādhā-Krishṇa temple. When this coin was found, it was covered with *sindur* (vermilion) which indicates that it was worshipped.

The token, now in our possession, may be described as follows :

Metal : Silver; Shape : Round; Diameter : 2.93 cm; Thickness : 27 cm; weight : 12.8976 gms.

Obverse : Within a dotted border, the four-armed Kāli is going to trample on the chest of the prostrate figure of Śiva; the goddess is holding a *Khaḍga* in the upper left hand and a human head (?) held by her lower left hand. The upper right hand is upraised and the lower right hand is pointing towards something. Both the right hands are empty. Kāli, in the token, wears a thick necklace and a garland of skulls. She is found wearing a crown also. The prostrate figure of lord Śiva is lying down on the lower portion, crosslegged, left hand upraised and having a snake with hood on the neck. Legend *Kāli-māta*, is inscribed on the right side of the figure in modern Bengali characters and again the same legend runs in modern Devanāgari to the left of the figure of Kali.

Reverse : Within a dotted border, Krishṇa standing in the well-known *tri-bhanga* posture with a crown having *Śikhi-puchha* on the head. He is playing an elongated flute; with Rādhā standing on his left. Both Rādhā and Krishṇa are standing on separate lotuses, putting on nice garments, under a double branch Kadamba tree. Legend *Rādhā-Krishṇa*, in modern Bengali characters and again in Devanāgari script, on the right and left side of the margin of the figures respectively. **(PL. VIII. 14)**

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This Kali : Rādhā-Krishṇa type of token is different from the token published by D. C. Sircar.[1] Its metal is different; D. C. Sircar's token is of brass.[2] Apart from the obverse and reverse designs, there are some other differences also. Such as : on the obverse of Sircar's token, Kali is trampling on the chest of the prostrate figure of Śiva.[3] The crown of Kāli and the position of Śiva is also of different type. The size of the token and the style of representation (on the whole) also differs.

The reverse design of Sircar's token is inferior. In respect of crown and dresses our token is beautifully designed. The Kadamba tree is of three branches. The *vamsi* (flute) is more elongated and foot stools (the lotuses) are also different from Sircar's token.

Though our token comes under the same category, Kali-Rādhā-Krishna type, still in respect of design, depiction and metal, it is different from the one published earlier.

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1. D. C. Sircar, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 93-94.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

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Public Garden Road
Hyderabad—500 001. A. P.
30, July 1979

The Editor, JNSI,
Hindu University,
Varanasi—5.

Sub: Rāma-Tankas

Dear Sir,

This is with reference to the article, "Two new Rama Tankas" by Mr. Ashok Kumar Maurya, in our *Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts I and II, 1977, Plate XIII, pages 186/187.

I have a collection of Rama Tankas, in Copper, brass and base metal, showing Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist themes. I enclose pencil rubbings[1] of two Rama Tankas showing Hindu theme with reference to the above article.

In the footnote on page 187, it is said that Dr. D. C. Sircar is of opinion that Hanuman, is carrying the "Gandhamadana Mountain" and that Mr. A. M. Shastri is of opinion that Hanuman is trying to catch the Sun. Both these statements are correct and there is sufficient proof to confirm their statements.

On the reverse of fig 2 in Plate XIII, of the article cited above, Hanuman is seen carrying the "Gandhamadana Mountain," on his left hand, which goes to prove that Sircar's statement is correct.

From Fig. 1 of the rubbings, I enclose herewith,[1] of the Tankas in my collection, it is evident from the reverse that Hanuman is trying to catch the Sun, which goes to prove that Mr. Shastri's Statement is also correct. As such, two defferent aspects are shown on Rama Tankas—carrying the mountain and catching the Sun.

On page 186, a Yantra on a Rama Tanka is shown in a sketch. The reverse of my Tanka is similar to it but the figures in the compart-

1. The rubbing enclosed by Mr. Hurmuz Kaus are not illustrated here. *JPS*.

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ments on left and right on transposed, while those in the central compartments remain the same, as shown in the reverse in fig. 2.

There is yet another Yantra on a Tanka in my collection shown as fig. 3. The reverse shows a square placed on apex with a small square placed on side, within, showing nine triangular compartments each with a figure. The figures appear to be in Telugu, and as such the Tanka is a local issue of Telengana.

While figs. 1 and 2 show the Darbar of Rama on the obverse, the obverse of fig 3 shows Shiva seated on tiger-skin His inner two hands are folded on the chest, and of the two outer hands, the right one holds a Trisul and the left one holds a Damru. The river Ganga is flowing from the top of his head. The legend, in two parts, in Devanagri Script, reads, *Sri Sivam Nam.*

It may not be considered out of place here, if I mention the other themes on the Rama Tankas in my collection.

1. Linga and Nandi
2. Kali Mata (i. e. Durga)
3. Ganesha (Ganapati)
4. Vishnu with his two Consorts, Sri Devi and Bhu Devi.
5. Two figures, standing facing each other, holding Chauri (whisk).

The Sikh Tankas show a Guru and a Chela with a peacock. The Buddhist Tankas show Pagoda and elephant. I hope to publish them in our *Journal* in future.

Yours Sincerely
HURMUZ KAUS

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Addenda

Add the name of Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta below the title 'Vāyuvarmā, a hitherto unknown King of Kausambi' on p. 96.

Read 1978 in place of 1979 on the l. of the Folio title on pp. 83, 85, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 103, 105, 107, 109, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 141, 143, 146, 148. 150, 152.

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Yaudheya Coins from Assandh (1-4); Horseman type of Muhammad bin Sām 5a-5b); Copper Coin from Pandusar (6); Coin of Vijayanagar King Harihara II (7).

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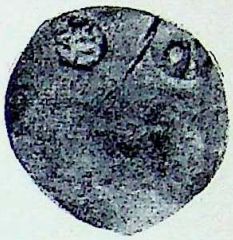
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Markings on the Coins of the Sultans of Bengal (1-12); A Coin of Nasiruddin Khusrau (13); Coin of Vayuvarma of Kausambi (14).

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Coins of Mahendrāditya (1-3); Coin of Nandanaraja (4); Coin of Arthapati (5); Coin of Stambha (6); So-called Coin of Jaya Simha (7); A New Murshidabadi Token (8).

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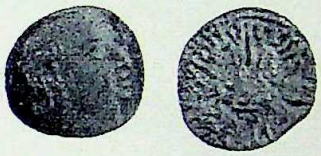

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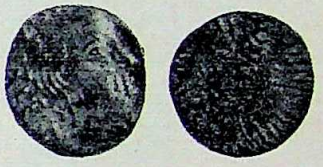

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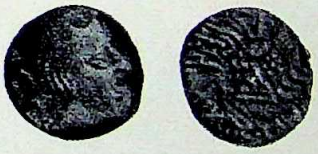

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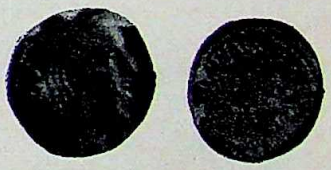

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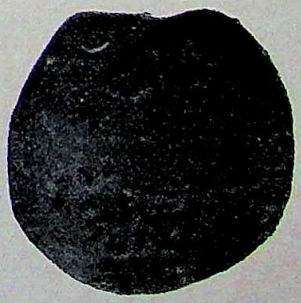

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Coin of Shamsuddin Muzaffar Daulat Shah (1); Kshatrapa Coins from Deva Hoard (2-7); Coins of Vangapāla of Pāñchāla (8-9).

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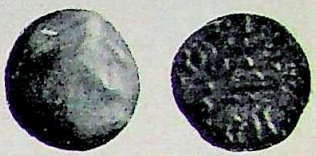

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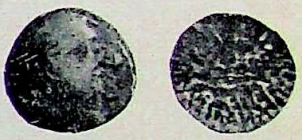

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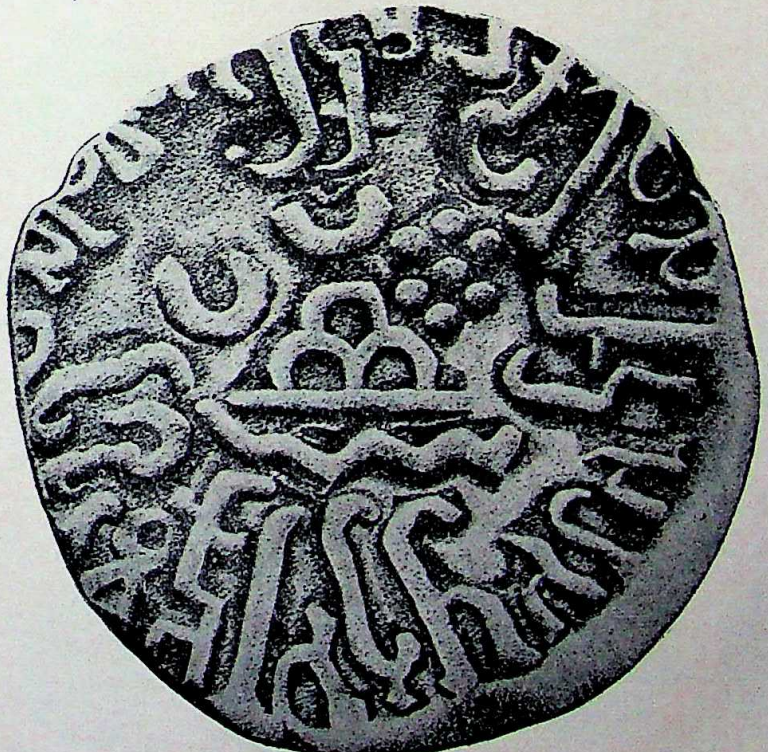

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Kshatrapa Coins from Deva Hoard.

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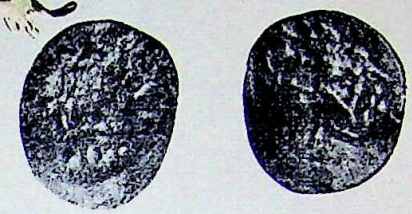
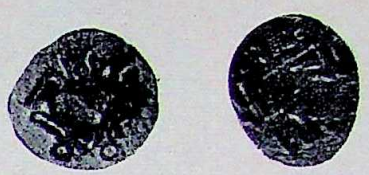


1



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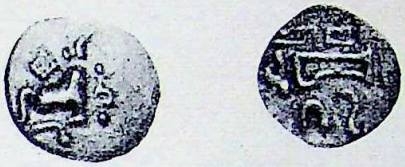

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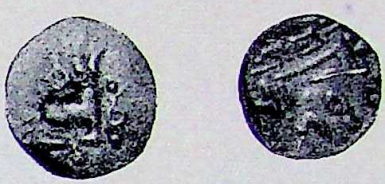

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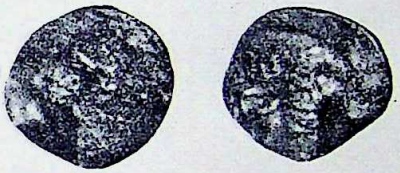

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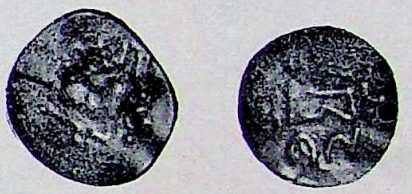

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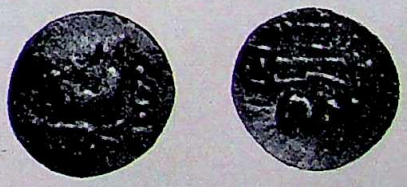

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New Ganga Fanams.

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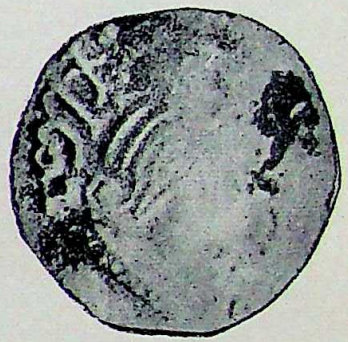
1

2a

2b

3



4

5

6

7

8

Vrishṇi Sealing (1); Coin of Tomar (2a-3); Coin of Īśvaradatta (4); Coin of Simhendrapāla (5); Coin of Purugupta (6-8)

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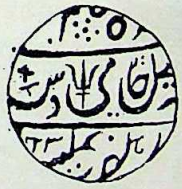

10

11

12

13

14

Tokens imitating Coins of Awadh and Other States (1-12); Coin of Simhendrapāla (13); A new Kali-Radha-krisha token (14).

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No.	Photo	A	B	C	D
286					
287					
288					
289			Broken punch	As 288	As 288
290					
291					
292					As 287
293		All symbols as on 292			
294					

Punch-marked Coins from Manipur.

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